

A
VOYAGE
INTO THE
Levant:

B E I N G

A brief Relation of a Journey,
lately performed from *England*
by the way of *V E N I C E*,

I N T O

Dalmatia, } *Macedonia,*
Slavonia, } *Thessaly,*
Bosna, } *Thrace,*
Hungary, } *Rhodes,*
and *Ægypt,*

Unto *G R A N - C A I R O*.

With particular Observations concerning
the modern condition of the *TURKS*,
and other People under that Empire.

By *Sir Henry Blunt*, Knight.

The Eighth Edition.

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Intellectual Complexions have no desire so strong as that of Knowledge; nor is any knowledge unto Man so certain and pertinent, as that of humane affairs: This Ex-

perience advances best, in observing of people whose institutions much differ from ours; for Customs conformable to our own, or to such wherewith we are already acquainted, do but repeat our old observations with little acquist of new. So my former time spent in viewing Italy, France, and some

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little of *Spain*, being Countreys of Christian institution, did but represent in a several dress, the effect of what I knew before.

Then seeing the Customs of men are much swayed by their natural dispositions, which are originally inspired and composed by the Climate, whose air and influence they receive; it seems natural, that to our *North-west* parts of the World no people should be more averse and strange of behaviour, than those of the *South-East*: Moreover, those parts being now possessed by the *Turks*, who are the only modern people great in action, and whose Empire hath so suddenly invaded the world, and fixt it self such firm foundations, as no other ever did; I was of opinion, that he who would behold these times in their greatest glory, could not find a better *Scene* than *Turky*: these considerations sent me thither; where my general purpose gave me four particular cares: First, to observe the Religion, Manners, and Policy of the *Turks*, not perfectly, (which were a task for an inhabitant rather than a passenger) but so far forth, as might satisfy this scruple, (to wit) whether to an impartial conceit, the *Turkish* way appear absolutely barbarous, as we are given to understand; or rather another kind of civility, different from ours, but no less pretending. Secondly, in

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some measure to acquaint my self with those other Sects which live under the *Turks*, as *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Freinks*, and *Zinganaes*, but especially the *Jews*; a race from all others so averse both in nature and institution, as glorying to single it self out of the rest of mankind, remains obstinate, contemptible and famous: Thirdly, to see the *Turkish Army*, then going against *Poland*, & therein to note, whether their Discipline *Military* encline to ours, or else be of a new mould, though not without some touch from the Countries they have subdued; and whether it be of a frame apt to confront the *Christians*, or not. The last and choise piece of my intent, was to view *Gran-Cairo*, and that for two causes; first, it being clearly the greatest concourse of mankind in these times, and perhaps that ever was, there must needs be some proportionable spirit in the government: for such vast multitudes, and those of wits so deeply malicious, would soon breed confusion, famine, and utter desolation, if in the *Turkish* domination there were nothing but sottish sensuality, as most *Christians* conceive. Lastly, because *Egypt* is held to have been the fountain of all *Science*, and *Arts Civil*, therefore I did hope to find some spark of those cinders not yet put out, or else in the extream contrariety, I should receive

an impression, as important, from the ocular view of so great a revolution; for above all other senses, the eye having the most immediate and quick commerce with the Soul gives it a more smart touch than the rest, leaving in the *fancy* somewhat unutterable, so that an eye-witness of things conceives them with an *imagination* more compleat, strong, and intuitive, than he can either apprehend, or deliver by way of relation; for relations are not only in great part false, out of the relaters mis-information, vanity, or interest; but, which is unavoidable, their choice and frame agrees more naturally with his judgement, whose issue they are, than with his readers; so as the reader is like one feasted with dishes fitter for another mans stomach, than his own: but a Traveller takes with his eye, and ear, only such occurrences into Observation, as his own apprehension affects; and through that *sympathy*, can digest them to an experience more natural for himself, than he could have done the notes of another. Wherefore I desiring somewhat to inform my self of the *Turkish* Nation, would not sit down with a book-knowledge thereof, but rather (through all the hazard and endurance of travel,) receive it from mine own eye, not dazzled with any affection, prejudicacy, or mist of education

cation, which preoccupate the mind; and delude it with partial *Idea's*, as with a false glass, representing the *object* in colours and proportions untrue: for the just censure of things is to be drawn from their end where-to they are aimed, without requiring them to our customs and ordinances, or other impertinent respects, which they acknowledge not for their touchstone. Wherefore he who passes through the several educations of men, must not try them by his own, but weaning his mind from all former habit of *opinion*, should as it were putting off the Old Man, come fresh and sincere to consider them. This preparation was the cause, why superstition, policy, entertainments, diet, lodging, and other manners of the *Turks*, never provoked me so far, as usually they do those who catechise the world by their own home; and this also bars these observations from appearing beyond my own closet: for to a mind possess'd with any set Doctrine, their unconformity must needs make them seem unsound and extravagant; nor can they comply to a rule by which they were not made: Nevertheless, considering that *experience* forgott'n, is as if it never had been; and knowing how much I ventur'd for it, as little as it is, I could not but esteem it worth retaining in my own memo-

ry, though not transferring to others : here-upon I have in these lines registered to my self, whatsoever most took me in my journey from *Venice* into *Turkey*.

First, I agreed with a *Janizary* at *Venice*, to find me Diet, Horse, Coach, Passage, and all other usual charges, as far as *Constantinople* : Then upon the seventh of *May 1634*. I imbarqu'd on a *Venetian Gally* with a *Caravan* of *Turks* and *Jews*, bound for the *Levant*, not having any *Christian* with them besides my self : this occasion was right to my purpose ; for the familiarity of bed, board, and passage together, is more opportune to disclose the customs of men, than a much longer habitation in Cities, where society is not so linkt, and behaviour more personate than in travel, whose common sufferings endear men, laying them open, and obnoxious to one another. The not having any other *Christian* in the *Caravan*, gave me two notable advautages : First, that no other mans errors could draw either hatred or engagement upon me : then, I had a freedom of complying upon occasion of questions by them made ; whereby I became all things to all men, which let me in to the breasts of many.

The *Gally* lying that day and night in Port at *Lio*, set sail the next morn, and in four and

and twenty hours arrived at *Rovinio* a *Venetian* City in *Istria*: it stands in a creek of the *Adriatique*, upon a hilly promontory which hath two thirds washed by the *Sea*, the *South-east* side joyned to the Continent; the soil rocky, and barren, as all that side along the *Gulf*; it is an hundred miles from *Venice*, and therefore being so far within the *Gulf*, is not fortified as against much danger, yet hath it a pretty wall and towers with a small Garrison. From hence we came to *Zira*: This City stands in *Dalmatia*, and of all others within the *Gulf*, is, by reason of the situation, most apt to command the whole *Adriatique*, and therefore hath formerly been attempted by the *Turk*; wherefore the *Venetians* have fortified it extraordinarily, and now, though in times of firm peace, keep it with strong companies both of Horse and Foot. The General of the Horse came in another *Galley* with us: he was first welcomed with a volley of great and small shot from the walls; then by 3 Nobles there, in several Offices commanding, he was accompanied to the *Townhall*, where his brief Patent once read, he had the Staff and Precedency of his Predecessor. After a days view of this place, we sailed to *Spalatro* a City of *Slavonia*, kept by the *Venetians* as their only *Emporium*.

plied successively with two Gallies, which carry between *Venice* and that place such Merchandize as are transported into *Turky*, or from thence brought in: it stands in a most pleasant valley, on the South-side of great Mountains: in the wall toward the Sea, appears a great remainder of a Gallery in *Diocletian* his Palace: Southward of the Town is the Sea, which makes an open Port capable of ten or twelve Gallies; without, is an unsecure Bay for great Ships, at the entrance above half a mile broad; yet not so renown'd for the skill of *Octavius*, who chained it up when he besieged *Salona*, as for the fierce resolution of *Vulturnus*, and his company there taken: in this Town the *Venetians* allow the great *Turk* to take custom of the Merchandize; whereupon there resides his *Emir* or Treasurer, who pays him thirty five thousand *Dollars* a year, as himself and others told me: there are high walls, and strong companies to guard this City; yet I heard their chief safety to be in having so unuseful and small an *Haven*; wherefore the *Turk* esteems *Spalatro* in effect, but as a land-town, not so much worth as his present Custom, and so covets it not like *Zara*; for if he did, he has a terrible advantage upon it, having taken from the *Venetians* *Clyff*, not above four miles

which off, which is the strongest land-fortress that I ever beheld.

At *Spalatro* having stayed three days, our *Caravan* was furnished with horses: the first journey we began about Sunset; our lodging two Miles off we pitch'd upon a little hill, grown over with *Juniper*, once the seat of *Salone*, a City famous for their bravery against *Octavius*: there is not now so much as a ruine left, excepting a poor piece of *Dioclesians Aqueduct*. Hence we passed the Hills of *Dogliana*, far higher than the *Alpes*, and so steep as in our descent for three days together, it was a greater precipice than that half day is coming down from Mount *Genis* into *Piemont*: having for the most part rode thus nine days, we came into a spacious and fruitful plain, which at the *West*, where we entred, at least ten miles over, is on the *North* and *South* sides immured with ridges of easie and pleasant hills, still by degrees straightning the plain, till after six or seven miles riding, it grows not above a mile abroad; there found we the City *Saraib*, which extends from the one side to the other, and takes up part of both *Ascents*: at the *East*-end stands a Castle upon a steep rock commanding the *Town* and passage *Eastward*: This is the *Metropolis* of the Kingdom of *Bosnab*: it is but meanly

ly built, and not great, reckoning about fourscore *Mefchectores*, and twenty thousand houses.

In my three days abode, the most notable things I found, was the goodness of the water, and vast, almost *giant*-like stature of the men, which with their bordering upon *Germany*, made me suppose them to be the off-spring of those old *Germans* noted by *Cesar* and *Tacitus* for their huge size, which in other places, is now degenerate into the ordinary proportions of men. Hence at our departure we went along with the *Bashaw* of *Bosnab* his Troops going for the War of *Poland*; they were of Horse and Foot between six or seven thousand, but went scattering, the *Bashaw* not yet in person; and the taking leave of their friends Spirited many with drink, discontent and insolency; which made them fitter company for the Devil, than for a *Christian*: my self after many taunces & knives threatned upon me, was invaded by a drunken *Janizary*, whose Iron Mace intangled in his other furniture, gave me time to flee among the Rocks, whereby I escaped untoucht: Thus marcht we ten days through a hilly country, cold, not inhabited, and in a manner a continued Wood, most of *Pine-trees*: at length we achd *Kaliovab*, a pretty little Town up-

on the confines of *Hungary*, where the Camp staying some days, we left them behind; and being to pass a Wood near the *Christian* countrey, doubting it to be (as confines are) full of Thieves, we divided our *Caravan* of sixscore Horse into two parts; half with the persons and Goods of least esteem, we sent a day before the rest, that so the Thieves having a booty, might be gone before we came: which happened accordingly; they were robbed; one thief, and two of ours slain: some hundred *dollars* worth of goods lost: The next day we passed, and found sixteen Thieves, in a narrow passage, before whom we set a good guard of *Harquebuze*, and *Pistols*, till the weaker sort passed by: so in three days we came safe to *Belgrada*.

This City, anciently called *Astrinum*, or *Alba Graeca*, was the *Metropolis* of *Hungary*, till won by *Sultan Solyman* the second, in the year 1525. It is one of the most pleasant, stately, and commodious situations that I have seen: it stands most in a bottom, encompassed *Eastward*, by gentle and pleasant scents, employed in Orchards or Vines; *Southward* is an easie hill, part possess'd with buildings, the rest a burying place of well-nigh three miles in compass, so full of Graves as one can be by another: The *West-end*

yields a right magnificent aspect, by reason of an eminency of land jetting out farther than the rest, and bearing a goodly strong *Castle* whose walls are two miles about, excellently fortified with a dry ditch, and out-works: this *Castle* on the *West*-side is washed by the great river *Sava*, which on the *North* of the City loses it self in the *Danubius*, of old called *Ister*, now *Dunay*; and is held the greatest river in the World, deep and dangerous for Navigation; runs Eastward, into the *Euxine* or *black* Sea, in its passage receiving fifty and odd Rivers, most of them navigable. Two rarities I was told of this River, and with my own experience found true: One was, that at mid-day, and mid-night, the stream runs slower by much, than at other times; This they find by the noise of those-Boat-mills, whereof there are about twenty, like those upon the *Rhone* at *Lyons*; their clackers beat much slower at those times, than else; which argues like difference in the motion of the Wheel, and by consequence of the stream: the cause is neither any *reflux*, nor stop of current by *wind* or otherwise, for there is no increase of water observed: The other wonder is, that where those two great *currents* meet, their waters mingle no more, than water and oil; not that either floats above other, but join
unmixed.

unmixed, so that near the middle of the river I have got in a boat, and tasted of the *Danuby* as clear and pure as a Well; then putting my hand not an inch further, I have taken of the *Sava* as troubled as a street-channel, tasting the gravel in my teeth; yet did it not taste *unctuous*, as I expected, but hath some other secret ground of the *antipathy*, which though not easily found out, is very effectual; for they run thus three-score miles together, and for a days journey I have been an eye-witness thereof.

The *Castle* is excellently furnished with Artillery; and at the entrance, there stands an *Arsenal* with some forty or fifty fair Brass pieces, most bearing the *Armes* and inscription of *Ferdinand* the Emperour. That which to me seemed strangest in this *Castle*, (for I had free liberty to pry up and down) was a round Tower, called the *Zindan*; a cruelty not by them devised, and seldom practised: it is like old *Romes Gemonie*; the Tower is large and round, but within, severed into many squares of long beams set on end, about four foot asunder; each beam was struck frequent with great flesh-hooks: the person condemned was naked let fall amongst those hookes, which gave him a quick or lasting misery, as he chanced to light: then at the bottom the river

is let in by *grates*, whereby all putrefaction was washt away. Within this great *Castle*, is another little one, with Works of its own: I had like to have miscarried with approaching the *entrance*, but the rude noise, and worse looks of the Guard, gave me a timely apprehension, with sudden passage and *humiliation* to sweeten them, and get off: for as I after learnt, there is kept a great part of the *Gran Signior* his treasure, to be ready when he wars on that side the *Empire*: it is death for any *Turk* or *Christian* to enter, and the *Captain* is never to go forth without particular license from the *Emperour*. Here the *Basha* of *Temeswar* joyning the people of *Buda*, and his own, with those of *Belgrada* and *Bosnah*, they were held encamped on the *South-side* of the Town; yet not so severely, but the *Spahyes*, *Janizaries*, and *Venturiers*, had leave to go before to the General *Rendezvous*, as they pleased, though most of them stayed to attend the *Bashas*: they there expected *Murath Basha*: he five dayes after our arrival, came in with few Foot, but four thousand Horse, of the *Spahy-Timariot*; such brave Horses, and Men so dexterous of the use of the Launce I had not seen: then was made publick Proclamation to hang all such *Janizaries* as should be found behind these Forces: with them the

next day we set forward for *Sophya*, which in twelve days we reacht : The *Bashas* did not go all in company ; but setting forth about an hour one after another, drew out their troops in length without confusion ; not in much order of *File* and *Ranke*, as near no *Enemy* : in this and our former March, I much admired, that we that had a *Caravan* loaded with *Cloths*, *Silks*, *Tissues*, and other rich commodities, were so safe, not only in the main Army, but in straggling troops, amongst whom we often wandered by reason of recovering the *Jews* Sabbath ; but I found the cause to be the cruelty of *Justice* ; for Thieves upon the way are empaled without delay or mercy ; and there was a *Sanick* with two hundred Horse, who did nothing but coast up & down the Country and every man who could not give a fair account of his being where he found him, was presently strangled, though not known to have offended : for their *justice*, although not so rash as we suppose, yet will rather cut off two *innocent* men, than let one *Offender* escape ; for in execution of an innocent, they think if he be held guilty, the *example* works as well as if he were guilty indeed ; and where a constant denial makes the *fact* doubted, in that execution, the resentment so violent terrifies the more ; Therefore to
pre-

prevent disorders betimes^t, in the beginning of War, *colourable* punishments are used, where *just* ones want: This speedy and remorseless severity makes that when their great Armies lie about any Town, or *pass*, no man is endamaged, or troubled to secure his goods; which in respect it pretends more effect upon a bad age, than our *Christian compassion*, which is so easily abused, as we cannot raise two or three *Companies* of Soldiers, but they pilfer and rifle wheresoever they pass: Wherein for want of cruelty upon *Delinquents*, causes much more oppression of the *Innocent*, which is the greatest cruelty of all: yet without their Army, there want not scandals: for in the way we passed by a *Palanga*, which is a Village fortified with mud-Walls against Thieves: Where we found a small *Caravan* to have been assaulted the day before, and divers remaining sore wounded: for through all *Turkey*, especially in places *desart*, there are many *Mountainers*, or *Out-laws*, like the wild *Irish*, who live upon spoil, and are not held Members of the State, but enemies, and used accordingly: In all our March, though I could not perceive much *Discipline*, as not near an adverse party; yet I wondred to see such a multitude so clear of *confusion, violence, want*, *sickness*, or any other *Disorder*; and

and though we were almost threescore thousand, and sometimes found not a Town in seven or eight dayes, yet was there such plenty of good *Bisket*, *Rice*, and *Mutton*, as wheresoever I passed up and down to view the *Spabyes* and others in their tents, they would often make me sit, and eat with them very plentifully and well. The several *Courts* of the *Bashas* were served in great state; each of them having three or fourscore *Camels*, besides six or seven score *Carts*, to carry the *Baggage*: and when the *Basha* himself took Horse, he had five or six *Coaches*, covered with *cloth of Gold*, or rich *Tapestry*, to carry his wives: some had with them *twelve* or *thirteen*; the least *ten*, who when they entered the *Coach*, there were men set on each side, holding up a row of *Tapestry* to cover them from being seen by the people, although they were after the *Turkish* manner muffled, that nothing but the eye could appear: beside these wives, each *Basha* had as many, or likely more *Citamites*, which are their serious loves; for their wives are used (as the *Turks* themselves told me) but to dress their meat, to *Laundress*, and for reputation: the boyes likely of twelve or fourteen years old, some of them not above nine or ten, are usually clad in *Velvet*, or *Scarlet*, with guilt *Scymitars*, and bravely mounted

mounted with *sumptuous furniture*; to each of them a souldier appointed, who walks by his bridle, for his safety: when they are all in order, there is excellent *Sherbet* given to any who will drink; then the *Basha* takes horse, before whom rides a dozen or more, who with ugly Drums, brass Dishes, and wind-Instruments, noise along most part of the Journey: before all, there go Officers who pitch his tent, where he shall dine or lodge: when meat is served up, especially at night, all the people give three great shouts: These are the chief Ceremonies I remember. That which secured and emboldened my enquiry and passage these twelve dayes march, was an accident the first night, which was thus: The *Camp* being pitched on the shoar of *Danubius*, I went (but timerously) to view the Service about *Murath Basha's* Court, where one of his favourite-boys espying me to be a stranger, gave me a Cup of *Sherbet*. I in thanks, and to make friends in Court, presented him with a *Pocket-Looking-glass*, in a little *Ivory Case*, with a *Comb*, such as are sold at *Westminster-Hall* for four or five shillings a-piece. The youth much taken therewith, ran and shewed it to the *Bashaw*, who presently sent for me, and making me sit, and drink *Canphe* in his presence, called for one

that spake *Italian* : then demanding of my condition, purpose, country, and many other particulars, it was my fortune to hit his humour so right, as at last he asked, if my Law did permit me to serve under them going against the *Polack* who is a *Christian* ; promising with his hand upon his breast, that if I would, I should be enrolled of his Companies, furnished with a good horse, and for other necessities be provided with the rest of his Household. I humbly thanked him for his favour ; and told him, that to an *Englishman* it was lawful to serve under any who were in league with our King ; and that our King had not only a league with the *Gran Signior*, but continually held an *Embassador* at his Court, esteeming him the greatest *Minarch* in the world : so that my service there, especially if I behaved my self not unworthy of my Nation, would be exceedingly well received in *England*. And the *Polack*, though in name a *Christian*, yet of a *Scit*, which for *Idolatry*, and many other points, we much abhorred ; wherefore the *English* had of late, helpt the *Muscovite* against him, and would be forwarder under the *Turks*, whom we not only honored for their glorious actions in the world ; but also loved, for the kind commerce of Trade which we find amongst them. But as for my present

sent engagement to the War, with much sorrow I acknowledged my incapacity, by reason I wanted *language*; which would not only render me incapable of *Commands*, and so *unserviceable*, but also endanger me in *rumuils*, where I appearing a stranger, and not able to express my affection, might be mistaken, and used accordingly; wherefore I humbly intreated his Highness leave to follow my poor affairs, with an Eternal *oblig* to *blazon* his Honourable favour where-soever I came: He forthwith bad me do as liked me best; wherewith I took my leave, but had much confidence in his favour, and went often to observe his Court. In this journey we passed through a pretty little Town, called *Nisse*, where we stayed, while the *Jews* kept their *Sabbath*: here, a little before night, Wine having posselt a *Janizary*, and one other *Turk* who rode in my Coach, they fell out with two Country-fellows, and by violence took an Axe from one of them, not to rob him, but for present use thereof; which being done, I gave him his axe again, as not willing in that place to have so much as the beholders part in a quarrel: These fellows dogg'd us: the *Janizary* they mis-fed, but at midnight came to our Coach where we slept, and opened the cover; whereat I speaking in *Italian*, they knew me; where-

wherefore leaving me, they drew the Turk by neck and shoulders, and gave him two blows with *Scymitars*, one over the arm, the other upon the head, in such sort as we left him behind in great danger of death: they fled; I was found there all bloody, and so taken, had surely the next day been executed, but that within less than half an hour, the hurt person coming to his senses, cleared me, telling how it came, and by whom.

Thus in twelve days we came to *Sophia*, the chief City (after the *Turkish* division) of *Bulgary*; but according to the other *Geography*, it stands in *Macedonia*, upon the confines of *Thessaly*: nor hath it lost the old *Grecian* civility, for of all the Cities I ever passed, either in *Christendom*, or without, I never saw any where a stranger is less troubled either with affronts or gaping: it stands almost in the midst of a long and fruitful valley; on the *North-side*, about four miles distant, runs a ridge of low hills; *South-ward* three miles off, stands a high and steep Mountain, where snow appears all the year: the *Jews* and *Christians* have here the doors of their houses little above three foot high; which they told me was, that the *Turks* might not bring in their Horses, who else would use them for stables in their travel;

travel; which I noted for a sign of greater slavery, than in other places.

Here is the Seat of the *Beglerbeg* or *Viceroy* of all *Greece*, by the *Turks* called *Rumely*; with many brave *Meschetoes*, especially the great one in the middle of the Town, and another on the South-side, with a magnificent Colledge: It hath many stately *Houses* or *Kirevanferabes*, and exquisite *Bathes*; the principal hath a hot Fountain. Here the business of our *Caravan* ended; nor had my *Janizary* much desire to take any of new: for he naturally having more of the Merchant in him, than of the *Souldier*, would not go further for fear of being forced to the War; wherefore he stayed twenty dayes at *Sophia*, till the *Camp* was removed, and the *Gran Signior* returned to *Constantinople*. Thus I neither saw the *Emperours* person, nor the main body of the Army; only herein was my success short. As soon as the *Janizary* thought the coast clear, we went our Coaches in three dayes to *Potarzeck*: the passage is famous for *Antiquities*: sixteen or eighteen miles Eastward of *Sophia*, we passed over the hill *Rhodope*, where *Orpheus* lamented his *Euridice*: it hath divers inequalities of ground none very steep, all covered with low Woods, now and then watched with divers, who by reason of the

the frequent Robberies there committed, do
by little drums give the Inhabitants warning
of all suspicious passengers. In the lowest of
those descents runs a little Brook, of which
conjectured, and a learned *Jew* (to whom
owe most of my information) confirmed,
that the old Poets had made the river *Stry-
mon*, where the disconsolate *Orpheus* was
torn in pieces by the *Thracian Dames*: for
that place hath ever been uncertainly recko-
ned to *Macedonia*, *Thrace*, and *Thessaly*.

At last we came to an high and large
mountain, of a dayes journey over: the
Jew held it to be the *Thermopyle*, a place as
continually contested for of old, as now the
Valtoline with us: herewith he told me that
the Eastern custom of wearing *Turbants* came
from thence; & that how once the *Barbarous*
people having the *Grecian Army* at a great
advantage, there was no other remedy, but
that some few should make good that nar-
row passage, while the main of the Army
might escape away: there were brave spirits
for who undertook it; & knowing they went to
an inevitable death, they had care of nothing
but *Sepulture*, which of old was much regar-
ded; wherefore each of them carried his
Winding-sheet wrapt about his head, and
when with loss of their own lives saved their
fellows: whereupon for an honourable me-
morial

morial of that exploit, the *Levantes* used to wrap White linnen about their Heads; and the fashion so derived upon the *Turk*.

This may be the story of *Leonidas* with his hundred *Spartans*, but corrupted by time and tradition: When I had considered the passage, it seemed capable of his relation; and this might well be the *Thermopylae*, if they were so near the *Philippick* fields: for besides his confession, the tradition of divers there inhabiting, and all concordance of Stories assure us, that the *Champaigne* between this *Mountain* and *Philippolis*, of above forty or fifty miles long, was from that City built by *Philip*, called *Campi Philippici*, famous for the *Roman* civil Wars there decided in Two battels; the first between *Cesar* and *Pompey*, the other between *Augustus* and *Mark Antony* against *Brutus* and *Cassius*. The Plain, but that it is a Valley, much resembles our Downs of *Marleborough*, where the *Saxons*, as it is thought, had a great battel: for just in that manner, there yet remain the heaps where the slain were buried, and good part of the Trenches. The two Battels were fought sixteen or eighteen miles asunder, as appears by the Sepulchres and the Trenches: *Cesar's* was next the hill; the other nearer *Philippolis*: which for want of other authority, I conjectured

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stured thus : First, in *Cæsars* battel there dyed but fifteen thousand two hundred ; in the other almost twice as many : this proportion is made good in the heaps ; those toward *Philippolis* being greater, and much more in number than the other. Then *Cæsar* writes, that after *Pompey* and the main of his Army was fled, a residue not yet disperst, retired to a hill six miles off, which had a River run under it : This squares right with a hill on the South-side of *Potarzeek*, a little Town between the two Camps, and where my two dayes abode gave me leisure to read *Cæsar* his Commentary thereon, which on purpose I carryed, to confer upon the Place, for the better impression : This *Potarzeek*, had it not been remarkable for the place, was not worth mention ; for it is but a small Town, reckoning not above four thousand houses ; but is very pleasant, with hills, and a River Southward.

Hence we passed Eastward, through the rest of the Plain along, the Monuments of *Brutus* and *Cassius* his defeature : the Tumuli are many ; some great, some small ; more or less close together, as the slaughter hapned ; and reach at least eight or nine miles in length, extending, as it seems the flight did, towards *Philippolis*, now in Turkish called *Philibee*, where in two dayes we arrived.

A little before the City, on the North-side, we saw the *Grand Signior* his Stable of *Camels*, where is *Place* and *Order* for five thousand *Camels*, which carry his Provision when he Wars on this side his Empire; and then the general *Rendevouz* uses to be in these *Philippick* Fields, now termed the Plain of *Potarzeek*; through which also runs the River *Marissa*, in some places called *Hebrus*; shallow, but very broad: over this River, at the North-entry of *Philibee*, is a vast Wooden Bridge, more than a quarter of a mile long. Through the middest of this City, from North to South, runs a ridge of Rocky hills, partly taken up with Buildings, the rest with Sepultures; among which I found a little *Greek Chappel*, built in the old *Gentilism*, as a *Greek* told me; and it appears also by the round form, with equal division of *Altars*: there remains nothing remarkable. After five dayes stay, we went four dayes journey through many pretty Towns of *Thrace*, till we came to the chief City thereof, and one of the principal in all *Turkey*: This is *Andrianople*, in *Turkish* *Heidiance*, or *Hadrian*, who repaired it: originally it was styled *Orestæ*, from its Founder: for as the *Greeks* there pretend, it was built by *Orestes*, Son to *Agamemnon*. Until the conquest of *Constantinople*, it was the

Turks

Turks Imperial Seat. *North-East*, *North*, and *North-West*, lye certain low and easie Hills, amongst which glides the little River *Tuny*, from the *North-side* of the City to the *West*, where meeting a branch of the *Marissa*, it passes a mile, or more, *South-East*, where joyning with the other branch, it runs stately through the adjoyning Plain, on which *Xerxes* first Mustered his vast Army, when he had passed the *Hellepont*.

This City, among divers other names, hath been called *Trimontium*, because it stands upon three little Hills, or rather one low Hill with three eminencies: the midst is the highest, and largest; upon the top whereof, as the crown and glory of the other buildings, stands a stately *Mescheeto* built by *Sultan Solyman* the Second, with four high and curious *Spires*, at each corner one, as the manner of *Turkey* is; not upon the *Church*, like our *Steeple*s, but from the *Ground*: each of them hath three rounds on the outside for the *Priests* walk; and at the top a great *globe*, and *half-moon* of Gold. The body of the *Mescheeto*, like those of *Constantinople* (though far more curious) is at the bottom *quadrangular*, having four *Stories* in height; the two uppermost so contracted, as that division which quarters the two lowest into four *Angles* apiece, casts

each of them into eight : at either *angle* of the upper story, is a great round *Pyramide* : they support a roof, in form round and eminent, all covered with Lead ; upon the top whereof is set a *Globe of gold*, whereon stands a *golden pillar* and an *half-moon* : at the bottom of this building are made ten *Conduits* with Cocks, on the *North-side*, and as many on the *South*, for people to wash before *Divine Service* ; to which use also on the *West-side*, in the *Church-yard*, are thirty or forty Cocks under a fountain so *sumptuous*, as excepting one at *Palermo*, I have not seen a better in *Christendom* : on the *East-side* are the chief *Priests* lodgings and garden ; round the *Church-yard* are *Cloysters*, *Bathes*, a *Colledge* with lodgings for *Priests* ; and other necessary *Offices*, all covered with large round *Tunnels* of Lead. This *Edifice* is not great, but of structure so neat, and that so advantaged by *scituation*, as renders it not only stately and magnificent, but with such a *delicacy*, as I have not seen in any other place, no not in *Italy*. Beside this *Meskeeto*, there is another brave one with four *Spires*, built by *Sultan Selym* ; and many other of two a piece ; with fair *Colledges*, *Cloysters*, and *Bathes*, equal to the *Monasteries* of any one City in *Christendom* for quality, though not in number: it hath also many fair *Hanes*

cover

covered in like manner; so likewise are their *Beseftains*, or *Exchanges*, whereof it hath four or five, some not much inferiour to ours in *London*; especially one, which I guessed half a mile in length, and richly furnished with wares: the chief *Bridges* are four, vast and high, all of *Stone*: from the *South-bridge* is the best view of the *City*, where it makes a gallant shew. There yet remain the walls of the *old Town*, which now contain the fourth, and worst part, inhabited by *Zinganaes*, *Christians*, *Jews*, and others esteemed as refuse people: A little without the *City North-ward*, stands the *Gran Signior* his *Seraglio*, with a *Park* walled some three miles compass: The *Palace* is very low, all covered with *Lead*, rising up from a flat, into a sharp round; and seems but like a *Garden-house* for pleasure: it is kept by his *Agemoglans*, to entertain not only the *Grand Signior*, but in his absence, any *Bashaw*, or other principal Minister.

After ten days stay at *Andrianople*, we rode up and down as business required, to *Burgaz*, *Churlo*, and divers other pretty Towns, all of them adorn'd with dainty *Meskeetoes*, *Colledges*, *Hospitals*, *Hanes*, and *Bridges*: for it is in *Turkey*, as in other Kingdomes; the nearer to the *Imperial City*, the more stately is the country inhabited. Having thus

travelled six dayes, we came to *Selibree*, or old *Selymbria*; no great Town, but bigger than the rest, and very ancient; the old *Castle* and *Walls* not quite demolished: it stands upon the *South end* of a long, but low Hill: the other three Points are encompassed by Sea, with a rocky and unsafe Port; from whence, on the other side of the Bay, you may discern a round Hill, upon which remain some ruines of the old City *Heraclea*: Here we stayed two dayes; then with some diversion, in three more, we reach'd *Constantinople*. Thus had we made from *Spalatro* fifty two dayes journey, and as many in several abodes; ever lodging upon the ground, for the most part, in open Fields; and passing by Land fifteen hundred miles *English*; not in the direct way, for that had been shorter, but as led by the business of the *Jews*, who were Patrons of the Caravan. *Constantinople*, by the *Turks* called *Stambole*, (which, as they told me, signifies *faith* and *plenty*) hath an uncertain Original; is famous for its Ruine under the Emperour *Severus*, and its Reparation by *Constantine*: other times it hath been sackt, but finally, *Ann. 1453.* lost by another *Constantine*, as the former, Son to another *Hellen*: in this loss it may be said to gain; for it is since at an higher glory than it had before, being made

Head

Head of a far greater *Empire*. Of old it was ever baited by the *Thracians* on the one side, and *Grecians* on the other; but now it commands over both. I staid here but five dayes, wherefore I had not leasure for much observation: in this haste, I put my thoughts upon two points; First, to view the chief *publick fights*; then, to consider the judgment of those ancient *Emperors*, who so often thought of transferring the Seat of the *Empire* from *Rome* thither. For the first, the *Emperours* Person I could not see, who was then at *Scutari*, which is as it were part of *Constantinople*, though severed by the mouth of the black Sea a mile over. The *Seraglio* I saw as far as Strangers use, having access into the second Court: The building low, and outwardly but mean; with a low *Cloyster* of many small *pillars*: the inside I saw not; but an infinite swarm of *Officers* and *Attendants* I found, with a *silence* and *reverence* so wonderful, as shew'd in what awe they stand of their *Sovereign*: A stone cast from the outermost entrance, stands that famous old Church *Sancta Sophia*; thence went I to see the other *Mescheetoes*, that of *Mahomet* the Second, who won the Town; that of *Achmat*, which is the most *splendid* of all: into that of *Sultan Solyman* I went, to view it throughout; but found it no way equal to

his other at *Andrianople*, which in my eye is the much more Magnificent than any of those at *Constantinople*: Then saw I the Egyptian *Obelisk*, the Brazen pillar of three Snakes, the *Aqueduct*, and many other things; with that horrid gap made by fire, *Anno* 1633, where they report seventy thousand houses to have perished. The other and chief part of my contemplation, consisted in the situation; which of all places that I ever beheld, is the most apt to command the world for by land it hath immediate commerce with *Greece*, *Thrace*; and from *Scutari*, with *Asia*: By Sea, the *Pontus* or black Sea, and the *Marmora* or *Hellepont*, not only furnish it with infinite of Fish in Port, but readily carry their commodities abroad, and bring others home; and, which is above all, the mouths of both those Seas are so narrow, as no passage can be forced against the *Castle*: so as for strength, plenty, and commodity, no place can equal it: Then it stands almost in the middle of the world; and thereby capable of performing commands over many Countries, without any great prejudice of distance; the want whereof caused that the authority of *Rome* could never reach the *Parthians*, and hardly *Germany*; and raised that *Maxime* left by *Augustus*: *Coercendos Imperii terminos*: for he who considers

eye in the sudden accidents of State, with the dif-
 ficulties of remote forces, and other dis-
 patches, must needs acknowledge the ne-
 cessity of (as it were) a *Mathematical* corre-
 spondence from the *Center* to the *Circumfe-*
rence: this perhaps the Crown of *Spain* finds
 too true, whose greatness could not else in
 the skirts of its *Empire* receive such blows
 from such petty enemies as it does. In that I
 observed no more of so great a *City*, I do not
 much accuse my self; for the chief time I
 had to view, was my first two dayes, when
 I lodged with the *Turks*, in the *Hane* of
Mahomet Basha; afterward I shifted into
Christian habit, and went over to *Galata*,
 where I was very courteously entertained in
 the house of an *English Gentleman*, to whom
 I was recommended: next, after I had kissed
 the hands of the Right Honourable Sir *Pe-*
ter Weych, Lord *Embassador* for his Majesty of
England, I took an instant opportunity of
 passage for *Egypt*, upon the *Black-Sea Fleet*,
 which three days after departed for *Alexan-*
dria: here I found the company of a *French*
Gentleman, and a *Flemish*: we embarked
 upon the *Admiral Galeon*, hiring to our
 selves the *Gunners Room* of the *Masters*
 thereof, who were two *Renegadoes* that spake
 good *Italian*: straight we set sail forth of
 the *Marmora* down the *Hellepont*, in all 86
 Vessels,

Vessels; in two dayes arrived at *Gallipoly*, so named of the *French*, whose fury hath many old *Monuments* in the *Levant*; here we lay at Anchor that night, staying for some *Commissions* which were to come after, or, as rather conjectured, for news of the *Rhodian Gallies*, which the next day met us a little below the *Castles*, to be our Convoy against *Piracy* or *Christians*: Some thirty miles beneath *Gallipoly*, is the straightest passage of the *Hellepont*, not above half a mile broad, a place formerly famous for *Xerxes* his Bridge, but much more glorious in the loves of *Hiro* and *Leander*: These *Castles*, called *Dardanelli*, command the passage, & are the security of *Constantinople* on that side: That upon *Europe*, ancient *Sestos*, is made with two Towers, one within the other; the inmost highest, by reason of the rising ground upon which they stand: each bearing the form of three semi-circles, with the out-wall triangular: The other upon the *Asian* shoar is far stronger, standing on a *Marish* level; it is of form square, with four round *Turrets*, at each corner one; in the middle before stands an high square Tower commanding over all: This formerly was named *Abydos*, not that the buildings remain the same, but often re-ed in the same place. We passed so leisurely, as gave me time to note the *Artillery*, which

which I found thin aloft, but plentiful at the bottom upon the ground, looking out at several holes made in the foundation of the Walls, which striking in a level, hits a Ship between wind and water, and is a plantation much more effectual than that above. About some forty miles sayl forth of that streight, on the *Asian* side, we reach'd *Cape Janizer*, anciently *Promontorium Sigæum*, where *Troy* stood, of which nothing remains to be seen, but a piece of an old Wall some forty or fifty paces long, hard by the Sea, and therefore said, by *Virgil*, to have been built by *Nep-tune*: So hath that famed Town now put on immortality, having no existence, but in Poetry: whose Fictions, by complying with the fancy of man, uphold themselves beyond the reality of their Subject. Beside the conceit of such a ruine, I took care to consider the judgment of Antiquity, in the Situation, which I find not to have been extraordinary, either for Pleasure, Commodity, or Strength: The Promontory makes an Angle, which hath two sides encompassed by Sea, from South-west to West, with a compass turning from West to North; on the other side lies a barren sandy Plain, now termed *Troade*, which some fifteen or twenty miles from Sea, is environed by a ridge of Hills, the most eminent whereof, the Turks

at this day call *Ide*, whereby I acknowledged it for that *Ida* where Prince *Paris* retiring from all wise affairs of State, and preferment of Court, lived an effeminate and luxurious life; which clad in Fable, fames him there to have preferred *Venus* before *Minerva* and *Juno*, and to have given her the golden fruit of his youth, for which she favoured him in the Rape of *Helen*; but because neither *Minerva* nor *Juno* assisted that imbrease, therefore it proved both unwise, and dishonourable. About two leagues Westward, is the little Island *Tenedos*, known for concealing the Grecian Navy at the taking of *Troy*: hence sailed we down the *Archipelago*, through those Islands so voiced for Antiquities, *Nullum sine nomine Saxum*: Among them my eye selected *Samos*, *Scio*, and *Pathmos*; for the wind veering larbord, drave us within discovery thereof. *Samos* is the only place in the World, under whose Rocks grow Sponges: The People from their infancy are bred up with dry Bisket, and other extenuating Diet, to make them extream lean; then taking a Sponge wet in Oil, they hold it, part in their mouths, and part without; so go they under water, where at first they cannot stay long, but after practice, some of the leanest stay above an hour and a half, even till all the Oil of the sponge

be corrupted : and by the Law of the *Island*, none of that Trade is suffered to marry, untill he have stayed half an hour under water : thus they gather Sponges from the bottom of rocks, more than an hundred fathom deep ; which, with many other Stories of these *Islands*, was told me by certain *Greeks* in our Galleon. *Scio* remarkable is for Mastick, not else-where found, and there only upon the South-side of the Hill ; which I thought to be as a plant, not enduring the cold winds, or contrary vapors of the North. They imputed it to St. *Theodores* tears, led that way to Martyrdom ; yet unless he traversed much ground, many of those Trees grow where he never came : I applauded their belief, but kept my own. *Pathmos* is renowned for many actions of St. *John* : I fancied none, till the *Greeks* pointed out a Rock under which they affirmed to be a Grot, wherein he wrote his *Apocalypse*. In some points things consecrate are imitated by the ordinary ways of men : to instance in prophane pieces ; *Mahomet* was two years in a grot, writing his *Alcoran* ; the *Sibyls* most lived and prophesied in grots, as my self have seen hers at *Cumæ* ; as also the study & habitation of *Virgil* in a grot at mount *Posilipo* : many old Oracles were delivered out of Caverns or Grots : In sum, the highest

fancies

fancies of men, have been produced in such places ; which in those who have no Divine credit, I impute, partly to the privacy and aspect of those retreats, which being *gloomy, still, and solemn*, settle and contract the mind into profound speculations ; but especially to the quality of the *Air*, a thing of main importance to dispose the wit : the air of those Rocky Caverns is not so damp and earthy, as that of dungeons ; nor so immaterial or wasting, to unsettle and transport the phantasie, as that above ground ; but of a middle temper, wherewith it affects the brain in such a sort, as is fittest to exercise its intellectual faculty, to the height of what its composition bears. Thus after we had in eleven dayes passed the *Southern*, and greatest part of *Ulysses* his ten years voyage, we came before *Rhodes*, at the East-end of the Island, where we entred the *Wind-mill Port* ; so named by reason of many *Wind-mills* standing before it : hard by, there is another Port more inward, for the Gallies, and of entrance so shallow, as is not capable of deep Vessels : here we stayed three dayes, which gave me some view of the place ; and that so much the more, by being taken for a *Spie* : for in *Rhodes* is no pretence of Merchandize for a Christian ; and but that my excuse of going upon wager into *Egypt*

seemed possible, I had here been lost : yet in that suspicion, some of them, out of such a bravery as I had once before found in their Camp, shewed me the Palace or Fortress of the Grand Master formerly, with the Out-works, and three great deep ditches all cut in the quick rock round the Castle, except one part, where it joynes with the chief street : then they shewed me a high window towards the West, telling me this Story; that when *Sultan Solymán* besieged the Town, here stood in that window the Gran Master, with a Nephew of his, and a chief Engineer ; they considering the Camp, the Engineer told him they were happy that the enemy knew not the advantage of such a place, pointing to the side of a hill where certain Wind-mills stand ; for, quoth he, if they should plant the Artillery there, we were lost : herewith the young Nephew, in hopes of preferment, took secretly some Turkish Arrowes, and from the window shot them into the Camp, having first writ upon them this discovery, and his name: they being found, the advice was approved, and put in execution; which forced the Town in three days to render : *Solymán*, according to the rule of Princes more brave than Politick, caused the Traitor to be put to death. This City, on the East and North, is encompassed

passed by Sea, the South and West joyn
land to the rest of the Island; it stands upon
little hill, reaching to the bottom thereof
it is four miles from the old City, which
stood upon a steep high hill, where now re-
mains part of the Walls, & a poor Village.

I took a Boat to view the place where the
Colossus stood, at the entry of that Haven
there is not left any remainder of that Sta-
tue; but the Rocks whereon his Footing was
are wide enough for two great Ships to pass
both together. Why the Cavaliers did
transfer their Seat from the Old City to the
new, I could not learn; unless it were for
the Port, which being obvious to all com-
ers, they had rather occupy it themselves
than leave it to an Invader. Within the City
the Arms of France are very frequent
the Spanish and Imperial, not in more than
two or three places; ours not at all: Where-
by I proportioned the Old National interest
in that Order. The most egregious Monu-
ment of any one Gran Master, is of Peter
d'Anbisson a French-man there, governing
above two hundred years since: He, among
other notable works; built a round Tower
with many retired Circles for Combatants
In the Wall before the Haven, to scower
the mouth thereof, he made two huge Bra-
Pieces, so vast, as I never saw any six Can-

ons, whose metal could make the least of
hem. In this Island the Sun is so powerful,
nd constant, as it was anciently Dedicated
o *Phæbus* : they have a kind of Grape as
ig as a Damsen, and of that colour : The
ines, if watered, bear all the year, both ripe
Grapes, half ripe, and knots, all together
pon the same Vine : yet that they may not
year out too soon, they use to forbear water-
ng of them in *December* and *January*, du-
ing which time they bear not, till after a
while, that they are watered again. Upon my
first landing I had espied, among divers very
honourable Sepulchres, one more brave than
he rest, and new; I enquired whose it was: a
Turk, not knowing whence I was, told me it
was the Captain *Basha*, slain the year be-
fore by two *English* Ships; and therewith
gave such a Language of our Nation, and
threatning to all whom they should light up-
on, as made me upon all demands profess my
self a *Scotchman*, which being a man un-
known to them, saved me; nor did I suppose
it any quitting of my Country, but rather
a retreat from one corner to the other : and
when they required more in particular, I in-
tending my own safety more than their in-
struction, answered the truth both of my
King and Country, both in the old obsolete
Greek and Latine titles, which was as dark

to them as a discourse of *Isis* and *Osyris* : y^e the third day in the morning, I prying up and down alone, met a *Turk*, who in *Italian* told me, *Ab ! are you an Englishman ?* and with a kind of malicious posture, laying his fore-finger under his eye, methought he had the looks of a design : he presently departed ; I got to my Galleon, and durst go on land no more. The next morn we departed for *Alexandria* of *Egypt*, accompanied with ten ordinary Gallies of *Rhodes*, and three others which went to be sold for fewel : the weather, although right in Stern, grew so high, as the three old Gallies perished, two in the night with all their people, the third by day in our sight ; but despairing betime, we made up to a Galleon neer ours, and saved such of her men who were neither chained nor otherwise encumbred : After three days full sayl, we arrived in Port. *Alexandria*, first built by *Alexander* the Great, was afterwards beautified by many, but especially by *Pompey* : it bears yet the Monuments of its ancient glory : Pillars in great number and size, both above ground and below ; most of *Porphyry*, and other Marble as firm. The ancient *Egyptians* had a custom now not in use ; that was, to make as great a part of the house beneath ground as above : that below was the most costly, with Pillars, and rich

Avements, for refreshment, being their
summer-habitation: the upper part had the
greatest Pillars for shew, but not the nearest:
above all the rest, there are three far be-
yond any that I ever saw else-where: That
of *Pompey*, where his ashes were laid, upon
the rocky shore hard by where he was slain
by a Boat at Sea: it is round, all of one stone,
of a kind of reddish gray Marble, so wonder-
fully vast, as made me salute his Memory
with the Poets Prophetical hail,

—— *Templis auróque sepultus*

Vilior umbra fores.

It stands upon a four-square Rocky founda-
tion on the South-side of the Town, with-
in the Walls: Within on the North, to-
wards the Sea, are two square Obelisks, each
of one intire stone, full of Egyptian Hiero-
glyphicks, the one standing, the other fall-
down; I think either of them thrice as big
as that at *Constantinople*, or the other at
Rome, and therefore left behind as too heavy
for transportation: near these Obelisks, are
the ruins of *Cleopatras* Palace, high upon
the shore, with the private Gate whereat
she received her *Mark Antony* after the o-
ther throw at *Actium*: Two stones-cast fur-
ther, upon another Rock over the shore, is
the round Tower, one part of *Alexanders*
Palace, where yet in the Walls remains a
rich passage

passage of brick-Pipes, part of a ventiduo
 The town is now almost nothing but a white
 heap of ruines; especially the East and South
 parts: the Walls were high, and frequently
 set with small Turrets, but not very strong
 except toward the Sea, where they stand upon
 on great steep Rocks; the North and West
 are washed by the Sea; which makes two
 Ports, each in form of a half-Moon: between
 them runs a long narrow neck of land, join-
 ed once to a Bridge, but now made firm
 land with that, then an Island called the
Pharos: A place which in *Cæsar's* judgment
 did command both the Port and Town; and
 which opinion the *Turks* now are, and therefore
 fore, contrary to their usual custom, they
 have there built a brave new Castle, which
 answers another little one on the other point
 of the Haven: these command the entrance
 broad at least a mile and half: but how
 could be done, before *Artillery* came up,
Cæsar affirms, I wonder: nor are the banks
 wider by time, as appears by the walls, and
 old circuit of building upon the shoar: on
 the West-side of the *Pharos*, and under pro-
 tection thereof, is the other Port only for
 Gallies, as too full of shelves and rocks
 for deep bottoms. Fresh water is brought
Alexandria in a large and deep channel
 by men, almost fourscore miles; through

the wilderness to the *Nile*: this channel is
dry till the River over-flowes, then runs it
into the City, but so low, as they are forc'd to
set it up by chained buckets and wheels
drawn with Oxen; so is it conveyed, and kept
in Cisterns, whereof now there remain
but six hundred, of two thousand at the
first: the earth cast out of those Cisterns,
with which made two fair mounts, upon one where-
of is set a Watch-tower, to give warning of
ships. Upon the South of the Town lyes
that vast sandy Plain, great part taken up
with the Salt Lake *Mareotis*. Eastward, not
far from the Sea, we rode through a sandy
desart, some 40 miles to *Rossetto*. All *Egypt*
where the *Nile* arrives not, is nothing but
whitish Sand, bearing no grass, but two
little weeds called *Humit*, and *Gazul*, which
burnt to ashes, and conveyed to *Venice*,
make the finest Chrystal Glasses: yet are
there many sorts of trees, nourished by no
moisture but the night-dew, which is abun-
dant; for in *Egypt* it scarce raines once in
three or four ages: above all, infinite num-
ber of Palms grow every where, with Dates
as big as both ones thumbs. In the Plain,
the wind drives the Sand into folds, like
snow with us; so as if any wind stir, no track
of man or beast lasts a quarter of an hour;
wherefore, to direct passengers, there are
set

set up round Brick-pillars, five or six yards high, one within a mile of another : which put me in mind of the *Israelites* being guided forth of *Egypt* by Pillars. Thus in a day and a halt came we to *Rossetto*, formerly *Canopus* ; a pretty little City ; it stands upon the *Nile*, four miles from its entry into the Sea : once it was famous for all manner of luxury ; now it wants nothing there but Art, and a soft Government. Here we hired a Boat for *Grand Cairo*, 360 miles off : In five days we arrived, though against the stream, and about the highest of the Inundation ; for the North-west wind helped us well : All that long way, we scarce passed four miles, but we found a pretty Town upon the Banks, likely one of each side, opposite ; which if *Turkish*, they were high built of Brick or other firm Stone ; but if *Arabian* and *Egyptian*, the houses were most of Mud just in form of Bee-hives. The *Nile* at the highest is ordinarily near a mile and a quarter over, sometimes making a great plain of profitable ground : much benefit of the overflow is made by Ditches and Gardens watered with Wheels drawn by Oxen : as far as the River waters, is a black Mould fruitful, as they do but throw in the Seed and have four rich Harvests, in less than four months : Most part of the Banks is

with

with dainty Sugar-Canes, Flax, and Rice: in the way, the Wind failing, our Watermen drawing the Boat with Ropes from land, and there came six of the Wild *Arabs*, five on Horseback, one afoot; each with a lance, which they can use in hand, or dart very dextrously: our Boatmen, Rogues of the same race, stood still, that they might take the Ropes: whereat the *Janizary*, a stout and honest *Turk*, discharged his *Hiribuzze* at the Horsemen, who wheeling about, came speedily again, where finding two of us with Pistols, guarding the Ropes, and helping our Boatmen, they durst not come on; nor were they sudden in flight, but that the *Janizary* let lie once more, & as seemed to us, tufted through one of their *Turk*ants; then away they ran. Finally, we arrived at that part of *Gran Cairo*, called *Buakho*, where we got direction to the Palace of a *Venetian* Gentleman, the *Illustrissimo Signior Santa Seghezzi*; whose noble way of living gives reputation to his Countrey, and protection to all *Travellers* in those parts. Here my late Companions stayed but few days; for overcome with heat, and spirited by devotion, they hastned to return by *Jerusalem*: I not so impatient of the Climate, nor loving Company of Christians in *Turkey*, and but reasonably affected to Re-

liques, left them, and presumed to receive longer entertainment : whereto I found an invital freely noble of it self, and with much regard to an honourable recommendation of me, sent by his excellence the Lord *Ambassador* of *Holland* at *Constantinople*, Sir *Cornelius Haga* : who having known my kinsman *St James Blount*, and some others of our name was pleased in me, to honour their memory. Here my abode in a Family which had then been resident twenty five years, informed me of many things with much certainty. First, I must remember things upon record constantly renewed in Office, as the multitude of the *Mischeetoes*, that is, Churches and Chappels, five and thirty thousand; the noted Streets, four and twenty thousand besides petty turnings and divisions ; some of those Streets I have found two miles in length, some not a quarter so long : every one of them is lockt up in the night, with a door at each end, and guarded by a Musqueteer ; whereby Fire, Robberies, Tumults and other Disorders are prevented.

Without the City, toward the Wilderness, to stop sudden Incurfions of the *Arabs* from abroad, there watch on Horse-back four *Saniacks*, with each of them a thousand Horsemen : Thus is this City, every night in the year, guarded with eight and twenty thousand men. The

These extravagant proportions, argued such a size of the main Body, as made me desire an entire view thereof; which I got in several places, but best of all from the top of the Castle, which is founded upon a rocky ascent, on the East-side of the City: It is not quite decayed, nor diligently kept; but held rather as the *Bashaes* Palace, than a Fortress; nor did I discern any Artillery therein: It was built by the old *Soldans*, and their *Mamalukes*, and that in such a sort, as testifies their Government to have been tyrannous & stately: there yet remain in one arched place forty Pillars of *Porphyry*, like those two of Saint *Mark* at *Venice*: at the foot of this Hill is a place some half a mile long, where they exercise their great Horse; hard by stands a little House and Garden, all under the Castles view; therein the *Bashaes* of *Gran Cairo*, when Deposed, are kept, until they are either preferred, or strangled: So potent is that Office esteemed, and so full of State-secrets, as may not be left unassured either by Satisfaction or Death. Beyond this Castle lyes the Plain Sandy Desert, which encompasses the East, North, and North-west of the City: from the Castle to the *Nile*, some three miles through old *Cairo*, extends an Aqueduct far more stately and vast, than either that of *Constantinople*, or

the other at *Rome*: the *Nile* runs along the South of the Town to the West; making at its arrival a dainty little Island, where amongst many fine buildings, stands the *Nile Schope*; which is a little Castle, wherein is set a Pillar, with several notes declaring the Inundation all over *Egypt*, according to each degree which the Water reaches upon the Pillar; then they foresee the future years encrease, and rate Provision accordingly.

The day when the Flood begins, is constantly the *Summer-Solstice*; the increase usually between fourscore and an hundred dayes: then suddenly it abates, and by the end of *November*, is within its narrowest Banks about a quarter of a mile broad. The cause of this admirable Inundation, I am not credulous enough to understand. The whole circuit of the City seemed to be between five and thirty or forty miles: A *Venetian* who was with me affirmed it to be much more; he proportioned *Italian* measure, I *English*. This large compass helps other concurrences to justify the *Turkish* reports, how that after *Selim* his first entry of the Town, he spent four dayes in Conquest before he passed quite through. Those Relations which restrain *Cairo*, intend but of one principal part thereof, named *Elkbayre* from

from the *Founders* habitation therein; according to which division, that *Burgh* is but one of five principal, beside ten or eleven more of less name, and all joyned as *London* and *Westminster*. This City is built after the *Egyptian* manner, high, and of large rough Stone, part of Brick; the streets narrow: it hath not yet been above an hundred years in the *Turks* possession, wherefore the old buildings remain; but as they decay, the new begin to be after the *Turkish* manner, poor, low, much of mud and timber: Yet of the modern *Fabricks*, must I except divers new *Palaces* which I there have seen, both of *Turks*, and such *Egyptians* as most engage against their own Country, and so flourish in its oppression. I have oft gone to view them, and their entertainments; sometimes attending the *Illustrissimo* with whom I lived, otherwhiles accompanied with some of his Gentlemen: The *Palaces* I found vast and high, no state or flourish outwardly: the first Court spacious, set with fair Trees for shade, where were several Beasts and Birds rare and wonderful, even in those parts; the inner Court joyned to delicious Gardens, watered with Fountains and Rivalets; beside the infinite variety of strange Plants: there wanted no shade, from Trees of *Cassia*, *Oranges*, *Lemons*, *Figs* of *Fharab*, *Tamarinds*.

rinds, Palms, and others ; amongst which pass very frequent Cameleons : The entry into the house, & all the rooms throughout are paved with many several-coloured Marbles, put into fine figures ; so likewise are the Walls, but in Mosaik of a less cut : The Roof laid with thwart Beams, a foot and half distant, all carved, great, and double gilt : The Windows with grates of Iron, few with Glass, as not desiring to keep out the Wind, and to avoid the glimmering of the Sun, which in those hot Countreys Glass would break with too much dazeling upon the eye : The Floor is made with some elevations a foot high, where they sit to eat and drink ; those are covered with rich Tapestry, the lower pavement is to walk upon ; where in the chief dining Chamber, according to the capacity of the Room, is made one or more richly gilt Fountains in the upper end of the Chamber ; which, through secret Pipes, supplies in the middle of the Room a dainty Pool, either round, four-square, triangular, or of other figure, as the place requires ; usually twenty, or twenty four yards about, and almost two in depth ; so neatly kept, the Water so clear, as makes apparent the exquisite Mosaik at the bottom : herein are preserved a kind of Fish of two or three foot long, like Barbels, which have

have oft taken bread out of my hand, sucking it from my fingers atop of the water. But that which to me seemed more magnificent than all this, was my entertainment: entering one of these rooms, I saw at the upper end, amongst others sitting cross-legg'd, the Lord of the Palace, who beckning to me to come, I first put off my Shooes as the rest had done; then bowing often, with my hand upon my breast, came neer, where he making me sit down, there attended ten or twelve handsom young Pages all clad in Scarlet, with crooked Daggers and Scymitars richly gilt; four of them came with a sheet of Taffaty, and covered me; another held a golden Incense with a rich Perfume, wherewith being a little smoked, they took all away; next came two with sweet water, and besprinkled me; after that, one brought a Porcelane dish of *Cauphe*, which when I had drank, another served up a draught of excellent *Sherbet*: Then began discourse, which passed by Interpreter, by reason of my ignorance in the *Arabick* there spoken: In their Questions and Replies, I noted the *Egyptians* to have a touch of the Merchant, or *Jew*, with a spirit not so Souldier-like, and open, as the *Turks*; but more discerning and pertinent: in some remote part of the house, they have their Stable of Horses,

such for shape, as they say are not in the World, and I easily believe it; but unuseful in other Countreys, by reason of their tender hoofs, never used to any ground but sand: They have one sort of a peculiar race not a jot outwardly different from other Horses, nor alwayes the handsomest; but they are rare, and in such esteem, as there is an Officer appointed to see the Foal, when any of that race is foaled, to Register it with the colour, and take testimony of the right Brood; one of these at three years old is ordinarily sold for a thousand pieces of Eight, sometimes more; the reason is, because they will run without eating or drinking one jot, four dayes and nights together; which some *Egyptians* wound about the body, and helpt with little meat, and less sleep, are able to ride: This is of infinite consequence upon sudden dispatches, to pass the Wilderness, where neither Water nor Grass is found: from these perhaps grew the Fable of those *Pardo-Cameli*, or *Dromedaries*; for seldome does any rarity of Nature escape the fabulous attaques of fancy. There are many spacious places in the City, which when the *Rivers* over-flow, are dainty Pools called *Byrkhaes*, and of great refreshment, as also the *Calbis*, which is a Channel cut through part of the City, from the *Nile*,

into

into a Plain on the North, where it makes a fruitful plash of at least ten or twelve miles compass, affording also many Rivulets to the Gardens: in these *Byrkhaes*, and *Galhis*, towards evening, are many hundreds washing themselves; in the mean while divers pass up and down with Pipes and Roguy Fiddles, in Boats, full of Fruits, *Sherbets*, and good Banquetting-stuff to sell: after the Rivers fall, those places are green for a while, then burn to sand. Notwithstanding the excessive compass of this City, it is populous beyond all proportion: for as we rid up and down, the principal streets were so throng'd with people, as the Masters of our Asses went alwayes before, shoving, and crying *Bdabarack*; that is, *Make room*: such infinite swarms of *Arabs* and *Indians* flock to the plenty and pleasures of *Grand Cairo*; so as I there heard from divers Honourable Persons, that not long since, they had a Plague, which in one year swept away eighteen hundred thousand and odd; yet within less than five years after, there was more throng of people than ever they had known. All Diseases there are riser in the Winter; especially the Plague, which at the *Summer-Solstice* suddenly ceases.

When the Wind sits Southward (whether it be the Spices of *Ethiopia*, or not, is uncertain.)

certain) it is so odoriferous as any *Spanish* Clove; and so hot, as when it held long, it so corrupted my stomach, as till the Wind changed, no meat went through me, some times nine or ten dayes together: on the South-end of the City, is yet remaining the round Tower wherein *Pharaoh's* Daughter lived, when she found *Moses* in the River, which runs not above a Bow's shoot off. Hard by are *Joseph's* seven Granaries, or rather some of their ruined Walls left, and four of them so repaired, as serve to keep the publick Corn: Three or four miles out of the Town Northward, is a place called *Materia*, with the Tree of *Pharaoh's* Figs, under which Fame goes that the Virgin *Mary* rested with *Christ* in her Lap, and washed Him in a Well thereby, when the fear of *Herod* made her fly into *Egypt*: There is in memory thereof, a Chappel built of no long time: methoughts the Tree seemed the oldest in the Garden, and so most probably chose for the Story: I asked my *Fanizary* how long those kind of *Fig-trees* used to last? he told me half an hundred years, or thereabout: yet I noted, that if this Tree should fail, nevertheless that place hath many others of the same kind, ready to take the reputation upon them.

Many rarities of living Creatures I saw

in *Gran Cairo*: but the most ingenious was a nest of four-leg'd Serpents, of two foot long, black and ugly, kept by a *Frenchman*, who when he came to handle them, they would not endure him, but ran, and hid in their hole: then would he take his Cittern, and play upon it; they hearing the Musick, came all crawling to his feet, and began to climb up him, till he gave over playing; then away they ran: Nor is this stranger in Nature, to see such Creatures delight in sounds delightful to us, than to see them relish such meats, as relish with us: the one argues a conformity to our composition in one of our senses, the other in another.

Twelve miles South-west of the City, on the other side of the River, stand three oldest, and yet most entire *Pyramides*: The largest I entred into down a descent, some thirty paces; then creeping through a passage almost choaked up with sand, we found a dark ascent through a passage between great Marble-stones, without stairs, only a little footing cut on each side; here we, with every one a Candle in one hand, and a Pistol in the other, for fear of Rogues, who often murder and rife in those Caverns, found two large square Chambers in the middle; the one empty, the other had in the midst a Sepulchre open and empty; about

about a yard and an half high, as much wide, and within not above two yards long: the stone seems a kind of red *Porphyry*, but is not, for it sounds better than a Bell: it is fixt in the Foundation, nor can ever be torn away, as too big for the passage: This being the ancientest *monument* in the World, encouraged me against the opinion of our decay in stature from our forefathers. The *Jews* pretended those three *Pyramides* to have been built by *Pharaoh*, who was drowned in the Red Sea; the little one for an only Daughter of his, the greater for his Wife; but the fairest, intended for himself, mist of his body, lost in the Sea: I suspected them to affect a glory in the renown of their Enemy; for *Herodotus*, much more Authentick, fathers the chief upon *Cleops*; nor is there any Brick, whereof *Pharaohs* buildings consisted.

The Form is *Quadrangular*, lessening by equal degrees, from almost a quarter of a mile each flat at the bottom, unto a square at the top little more than three yards Angular: the stones are excessive great; and as big above as beneath; all of an even square: That which made the building easie, and held it so long together, is the posture of the stones, not laid in an even flat upon one another, as in other *Fabricks*; but

begun at the Basis upon firm Rocks, with the first row of stones laid sloping, their outside a foot higher than the inside; which continues the same posture to the very top, and makes the whole building set inward, and so without mortar, fasten of it self: each upper stone retires some half a foot short of that whereon it lyes: this sharpens the bulk by just degrees upward, and makes the outward ascent very easie: but in a Countrey where there were any Rain, it would settle the water, and decay the building.

There are about sixteen or eighteen other *Pyramides*, extending Southward, a matter of twelve or fourteen miles: They are said to be of Kings far less antient than this; and yet, though of the same stone, ruined extreamly; only wanting that posture of the stones. This wonderful *Pyramide* is recorded to have been twenty years a building, with three hundred thousand men and more in continual employment; which if the stones came from the *Red Sea*, is very credible; but perhaps part was cut from those Rocks, under the sand, hard-by where it stands: within two Bows shoot hereof, is a Rock of some forty yards in circumference, and twelve or fourteen high, cut into the form of a mans head; perhaps *Memnon*, famous for its sounding at the Sun-rise: The
Egypti-

Egyptians and *Jews* with us, told us it gave Oracles of old, and also that it was hollow at the top; wherein they had seen some enter, and come out at the *Pyramide*: then I soon believed the Oracle; and esteem all the rest to have been such, rather than either by vapour, though not impossible; or *Demoniak*, which require too much credulity for me.

All that part of the Plain, for between twenty or thirty miles in length, and little less in breadth, hath ever been the place of Sepulture for those three Cities where now is *Gran Cairo*; that is, *Babylon*, (not that of *Persia*) *Memphis*, and *Cairo*: The Southern part belonged to *Memphis*, which was the ancientest, and stood most part on that side of *Nile*; those Bodies are the best *Mummy*, and were buried before the *Israelites* departure; one of which Sepulchres being opened, I went down, tyed by a Cord, descending as into a Well, ten or twelve Fathom, leaving a *Janizary*, and two of our company, at the top, to awe the *Atabs*; who often leave Strangers within, and return when they are starved, to rifle them; the place so low, as I was fain to creep, and all full of a dry Sand where moisture never comes, that preserves the bodies, as much as the embalming; insomuch as I have seen

some of the Linnen, not touched by the embalming, to remain perfect white, and sound; so many thousand years will things endure, when untoucht by moisture, the sole cause of putrefaction: The bodies lye most of them in the sand, some in an open stone, with an hollow hewed therein; they are not beyond our ordinary proportions, in the pitch of the breast, is set a little Idol, the head of humane shape, with a prop under the chin: they are as big as ones middle finger, with Hieroglyphicks on the back, and made of stone, or rather baked mortar: their being among the dead, made me suppose them pieces Religious; which with their old Hieroglyphicks, in vain I search'd to interpret.

Above all the Antiquities of Egypt, I sought to understand that admirable Table of *Isis*, not mentioned in *Plutarch*, and slenderly unfolded by *Pignoria*, but compleatly exprest in the antique Egyptian Monument of Brass, lately Printed in *Italy*: it is thought under the Ceremonies of *Isis* and *Osiris*, to contain that three-fold Wisdom of the old Egyptian Kings and Priests; the one about the nature of their *Nile* and *Soil*; the other concerning the *Policy of their State*; in the third was veiled the most important pieces of their *Philosophy*.

To get information hereof, I followed the old examples, first used by *Horodotus*, then by *Julius Caesar*, and after by *Germanicus*, which was to enquire of *Priests*; who (if any were like to know somewhat in their own Antiquities: I was helpt by an Interpreter to the speech of three *Egyptian Priests*, but found them utterly ignorant of all things not *Mahometan*: Nor can I wonder; for in the course of vicissitude, the *Egyptian* superstition, as the ancientest in the world, is likely to be the most clean lost; and all superstitions, being in effect but jugglings, have the Fate of such tricks, that is, while new to be admired, but in time to grow ridiculous to such as discern their knavery, and stale to those who do not; thereupon the *Priests*, like other *Impostors*, when their devices began to take but coldly, changed them: This caused among the *Heathens*, new *Doctrines*, and Ceremonies *Ecclesiastick* in several Ages; seldom all at a clap, but by degrees, as occasion, and the peoples gust required: nor ever happens a more sudden occasion of Innovation herein, than that of Conquest; therefore whatsoever little memory of old Ceremonies might have been left in *Egypt*, hath utterly perished in their frequent oppressions; especially in those two of late Ages; this of the *Turks*, and the

former of the *Circassian Mamalukes*; which, beside the change of Ceremony, have corrupted all the ingenious fancy of that Nation into Ignorance and Malice. Thus is failed that succession of Knowledge, which by word of mouth useth to be delivered from one Generation to another; nor is there any preparation made by way of Books. The main reasons why the naked Mythological part of the *Heathen Religions* was not exprest in writing, were two: First, it would have exposed them to the expolition of many; whereby the several fancies and interestes of men, either out of Opinion or Design, would have raised pernicious Heresies, as appears in the *Alcoran* and *Talmud*: . Therefore *Numa Pompilius*, having writ Books of that kind, caused them to be buried with him; and when (many Ages after) they hapned to be found, the *Pretor* protested to the *Senate*, that they would destroy the Religion, if published; whereupon they were burnt: The other reason was, because the Institutions of their Religions were addrest, not to the Wise, who are so few, as not to be reckoned of; but to the Multitude, which is passionate, not judicious: wherefore they were not put into a rational way of discourse, which had served them up to the understanding: but rather acted in such

man-

manner, as might move the Senses, thereby raising such Passions as were to the advantage of their Religion: Hence came the Perfumes; and dainty Musick in their Temples; the fantastick Vestment of their Priests; their solemn Sacrifices, Pictures, Statues, and Processions; which in new Superstitions were altered, with contempt of the former; yet in the main Point they all agreed; that was to amuse and entertain the Imaginative part of the Mind, befooling the Intellectual; so the Ceremonies renewed not alwayes utterly different, nor the same; but following the State-reasons, and popular Gusts: just like the Weeds of each year, not ever of the former kind, but according to the Soyl and Season: Now for the Passions, those sensible Solemnities were excellently fitted: Yet because there were some discerning Souls, to engage them, they were admitted to the inside of their devices, and called *Sacris initiati*: so were either taken with the Myltery, or at least with the Favour to themselves, and Profit of the Republick; the latter sort in love connived, the others were conjured, as they did dread the revenge of the Gods, never to divulge those Mystical secrets: which also was, because they were either cruel, impure, and horrid, (for with such humours they complied, as well as with the

virtuous) or that they contained some profound reach of State, or Philosophy, beyond vulgar capacity, which adores easily, but pierces not; and that credulous reverence, is much advanced by a solemn concealment.

— *Cupidine humani ingenii libentius ob-
scura creduntur* : Therefore it is not hypo-
crisie, but a necessary regard to the vain na-
ture of man, which forces most Religious to
muffle toward the vulgar, concealing some
of their inside, either in Hieroglyphicks,
Fables, Types, Parables, or School-distin-
ctions, and strange Language; all which
do equally obscure to popular capacity, and
are chosen according to the Genius of the
Age or Doctrine: Hereby were all sort of
wits entertained with a reverent satisfaction;
the deeper in the kernel, the shallow in the
shell: Thus is all light of *Egypt's* old devo-
tion almost quite extinct.

Now as for the Justice and Government,
it is perfectly *Turkish*, and therefore not to
be set down apart; only it exceeds all other
parts of *Turkey* for rigour and extortion; the
reason is, because the *Turk* well knows the *E-
gyptian* nature, above all other Nations, to be
malicious, treacherous, and effeminate, and
therefore dangerous, not fit for Arms, or
any other Trust; nor capable of being ruled
by a sweet hand: Wherefore among them
are

are more frequent and horrid Executions than in the rest of *Turkey*; as *Empaling*, *Gaunching*, *Flaying alive*, *Cutting off by the Neck*, *Waste with a red hot Iron*, *Oynting with Honey in the Sun*, *Hanging by the Foot*, *Planting in burning Lime*, and the like: In my twelve months stay, I saw divers fearful Examples especially two; one at *Gran Cairo*, of a Fellow who in malice fired his Neighbour's house: he was first Flayed alive, with such Art, as he was more than three hours a dying; then was his skin stuffed with Chaff and born stradling upon an Ass up and down the Town.

The other was of three *Arabs*, who robbed in the Wilderness between *Rosetto* and *Alexandria*; They were taken at a place called *Maidyab*, where at my return I saw an execution done in this manner: They were laid naked upon the ground, their face downward, their Hands and Legs tyed abroad to stakes; then came the Hangmen, who putting their own Half-pikes in at the Fundament, did with a Beetle drive them up leisurely, till they came out at the Head or Shoulder; two of them died suddenly, but the third, whom the Pike had not touch'd neither in the Heart nor Brain, would have lived longer, had not the standers-by dashed out his brains: then were they tyed upright

to stakes driven in the High-way, & so left. Now the *Turk*, to break the spirits of this people the more, oppress them with a heavier Poverty than any of his other *Mahometan* Subjects; and therefore if there be one *Vizier* more ravenous than other, he tends him thither, and connives at all his extortions; though afterwards, according to the *Turkish Policy*, he knows how to squeeze him into the Treasury; so satisfying the people, the Prince dreyns them, and they discern him no otherwise, than as their avenger.

This *Vizier Basha*, who now Governs, carried with him from *Constantinople* a Ship loaded with Tin: at his arrival, he took a Catalogue of all weakly Persons; then to every man, excepting such as were engaged in favour of the State, he sent a piece of Tin, more or less, according to the ability of the Person; and demanded of each so excessive a price, as generally it was not worth the fifth part of what they paid: It is the custom of the *Ottoman Crown* to preserve the Old Liberties to all Countreys who come in voluntary; which in *Scio*, and other *Islands* of the *Archipelago*, it hath for example sake, maintained very honourably, till just cause was to the contrary: but those whom they take by Conquest, they use as a booty,

booty, without pretending any humanity more than what is for the profit of the Conquerour; which most Conquerours do in effect, although, not being so absolute as the *Grand Signior*, they are fain to give the World more satisfaction in the poor counterfeits of Justice, Zeal, Clemency, Publick Good, and the like: The *Egyptians* under their *Circassian Mamalukes*, were defended against *Sultan Selim*, like a flock of Sheep kept by fierce Mastives from the Woolf; wherefore his bloody Victory made him rage the more; so that after he had slain all the *Circassians*, and topt the rest, he was not like *Pharaoh*, content with the fifth part but took all, leaving no man owner of a foot of ground; and divided the Land into Farms; the least Farm payes one purse, some two or three, according to its proportion; each purse is eight hundred pieces of eight; the fixt rent the *Basha* must constantly make good to the Crown; he every year places or displaces the Farmers, as they outvie one another in gifts to him: the set Rent never alters, and is eighteen hundred thousand *Zeecheens* yearly; a *Zeecheen Turkish* I value nine shillings sterling.

This is proportioned into three equal portions; one is set out to furnish the annual Pilgrimage to *Mecca*; the second payes the Souldier

Souldiery, with all other Offices, and Services Publick for that Kingdom; the last third goes clear into Chequer: these Farms are most in the hands of *Egyptians*; beside which there want not *Timarres*, that is, *Fendes* given to *Turkish* Horsemen, with obligation of Service in War, and to awe both Neighbours and Subjects.

When *Selim* had Conquered this Kingdom, he boasted he had taken a Farm to feed his *Agemoglans*: Wherein his judgment was the same with the *Romans*, who esteemed it the Granary of their Republique; Wherefore the *Turk* at this day, employes the *Egyptians* rather that way than to Arms; For he hath, of them inrolled Souldiers but fourteen thousand; and when any of those die, he continues the Pay to his Wife and Children; Whereby without scandal, the Nation is made effeminate, and disarmed; Which is the *Maxime* he holds upon that false and dangerous people: He used, till within this fifteen or twenty years, to make (as in his other Kingdoms), most of their Judges of the Natives; but they according to that Climate, were found damnable corrupt, and dis-affectionate to the *Turkish* Affairs; Wherefore now having made sure of that Country, he hath without any further respect of them, made a Decree,

cree, That none shall be capable of being a Judge amongst them but a natural born Turk, whereby the Justice is excellently reformed, especially towards strangers, who before had no Protection, beside poverty, to save them from false witness which shared them as a booty between the Judge and the Accusers.

Having thus at *Gran Cairo* enquired of such Points as are peculiar to that Kingdom, I thought of my departure, which I purposed to direct in search of some further Antiquity: First, I asked for the famous old Temple of *Vulcan*, but could not hear any remainder of it, nor any acknowledgement of *Jupiter Hammon*, who gave Oracles in the West of *Egypt*: Then I desired to view the passage of *Moses* into the *Red Sea*, not above three dayes off; but the *Few* told me, that the precise place is not now known within less than the space of a dayes journey along the shore; wherefore I left that, as too uncertain for any observation, and went by *Camel* two dayes journey South-east, to see certain great Ruines some fifteen miles from the River; I had hoped they might have proved the remainder of the *Labyrinth*, or *Pyramides*, built by the twelve Kings in the Lake of *Meris*; but rather, by the *Pillars* and *Turrets*, guessed them

them to have been some Regal Palace: In
 our going thither, there hapned a little
 Whirle-wind, which drave the sand so up-
 on us, as we were almost lost; for divers
 times Passengers therewith over-whelmed,
 man and beast are not found till many Ages
 after, when another Wind discovers them:
 our only remedy was, to turn our *Camels*
 Buttocks to the Wind, till the place where
 they stood was become a Fit, as deep as they
 could well go out of; then removed a little
 forward, make another stand, till we grew
 again environed; in this manner passing
 out an hour, till the Wind ceased: This
 sight made us return neerer the *Nite*, where
 I saw two Crocodiles running together in a
 muddy plash; the one about four foot long,
 the other not above two.

At my coming back, I began to think of
 going down to *Alexandria*, and from thence
 by Sea to *Joppa*, purposing to return home
 by *Jerusalem*, which by Land is fifteen
 dayes journey on this side *Gran Cairo*: Then
 I took my leave of the *Illustrissimo Signior*
Sancto Seghezzi, whose usage of me all this
 while, and now at departure, was so ho-
 nourable, as might serve for pattern to each
 noble Spirit.

It being now forward in *November*, with
 the Waters abatement began *Egypt's* Springs

all the Banks so green, fragrant, and delicious, as if a new Paradise were up; the River shrunk generally into little more than a quarter of a mile broad; which caused one unpleasing spectacle, that was, of many wild *Arabs*, often ten or twelve together, swimming cross to rob Villages and Passengers: They first wrap their thin blue Coat about their head, then tye their Lance to their side; so naked swim over the River, which I had also seen at my going up, when the Flood was nigh a mile and quarter over, but not so frequent. My two *Janizaries* with their Harquebuzes, and I with a Pistol, awed them, that they durst not assault the Boat; nor were they able to use the Lance (swimming) more than with one hand, and that but weakly.

In this four dayes passage to *Rossetto*, I enquired of the *Delta* and the *Niles* seven streams: the *Delta* is so named from the form of that Letter, and is all that part of *Egypt* which lies between the two branches of *Rossetto* and *Damiata*; the first parting of which streams is about twenty miles below *Grand Cairo*; part of this *Delta*, I had often heard by some of the Learned-er *Jews*, to have been the Land of *Goshen*.

Nile had of old seven streams, five natural,

ral, and two cut by labour, to serve only in the over-flow; there now remain onely three, one artificial, which in the Inundation serves *Alexandria*; the two natural ones are that of *Pelusium*, now called *Damiata*, and the other of *Canopus*, now *Rossetto*; this latter is of late so choaked, as at the entrance into the Sea, Ships are fain to unlade, and after a small passage, to lade again; another hath quite furred up within less than thirty years, whereof there are three causes doubted: first, the gravel born down in the Flood, for then the water is as gravelly as a puddle in the High-way: Secondly, the sand blown therein by the wind from the Banks; if it be either of these, it may alter the Course of the River, as in part it hath done formerly, which might be the ruine of the Cities, but not of the Kingdom: the third reason is some defect or diversion from above towards the Fountain; that would be the destruction of all; but is not generally believed; yet methinks might well be suspected, because though so many streams are stopt, the rest run not higher than before; which they say, the many Ditches made of late Ages, are the cause of.

The Water tastes just like new milk, but somewhat Nitrous; and if drank as in the

River, troubled, it causes in strangers a Flux; which to prevent, they take a Gallon, or more, of that Water, and if they have not time to let it settle, they cast therein three or four bruised Almonds; they in less than an hour clarify it like Chrystal; which effect they have upon no other Water, and thereby shewed the perfection of that.

At last arrived at *Rossetto*, and so by Mule passed to *Alexandria*, I purposed from thence to take a Voyage for *Joppa*; which passage I rather chose than the other of *Damiata*, much nearer, but more infested with Pyrats: Here one day I went to view the Port of Gallies, but was severely prohibited: this seeming contrary to the usual freedom of *Turkey*, made me suspect some notable defect in that Harbour, which might hereafter be made use of; whereupon I went the next day secretly unto a high decayed piece of a *Turret* upon the Wall over the Haven, to take a considerate view thereof; my access was espied, and dog'd by an *Egyptian*, one as I think of the Garrison hard-by, whose violence produced an accident that made me forget all my other designs, and flye for safety of my life unto a little *French-Bark*, which I knew was that day to depart for *Sicily*.

We had not sayled above five or six leagues, but we saw a spectacle of a strain beyond the spirit of these times; it was thus: a *Maltese* gave chase to a *Greek Vessel* in search of *Turks* or *Turkish Goods*; the *Greek* laded with *Turkish Goods*, made up to us, who carrying no Flag, he judged *Turks*; but when at hand we appeared *Christians*, and from us no help to be had, he yielded: upon the Vessel were four *Turks*; three suffered themselves to be taken prisoners; the fourth (we all looking on) ran up to the Stern, where taking a piece of cord, he tyed his feet and one of his hands together, then threw himself headlong into the Sea; in which resolute end, he shewed by what a short passage many a years misery may be prevented, where other reasons, or fear masked in them, enthrall not.

Our Bark had twice before been taken by the *Turks*, and ransomed: this Voyage met none, nor any notable danger, excepting one storm, wherein we had like to have split upon the Rocks of *Candy*. Finally, after twelve dayes we came to *Siragosa* in *Sicily*, from whence we went to *Messina*, and so to *Palermo*; whose delicacies, with my noble entertainment in the house of a *French Gentleman*, there Consul-General for his Nation, stayed me to take a leisurable

view of that Kingdom, whose Customs and Government are so perfectly *Spanish*, as need not to be set down apart ; especially, this Memorial having not undertaken beyond the affairs of *Turkey*, must not meddle with those of *Christendom* ; only I may upon this Countrey, remember an Item given me by a very understanding *Turk*. In one part of the *Archipelago*, our Captain, who went Admiral to the whole *Armado*, caused many of the Gallions to be linkt with Cables ; this I knew dangerous among so many Islands ; and at length we began to fall foul one upon another ; whereupon I asked the *Turk*, *Why we rode so linked ?* He replied, *For to be ready all together if we light upon the Maltesi.* With that, under colour of magnifying them, I desired to learn how they understood *Malta* ; and so told him, I wondred they would suffer such a spot of Earth to trouble them, and not rather destroy it when they had some spare time from greater enterprises : He answered, That they would no more attempt *Malta*, but rather *Sicily*, which had better landing, and was abler to maintain an Army, and whose people have suffered under the *French* and *Spaniard* extreamly, and finding no other hopes in any *Christian* Prince, are not much averse from the *Turkish* Government.

ment ; then (quoth he) if *Sicily* were ours, *Malta* must come in without blows, as victualled from *Sicily*, and no wayes able to subsist when we were on both sides of it : This discourse I could never esteem to the full, till I had been in *Sicily*, and principally once, when I heard some of them not stick to say, That the *Greeks* lived happier under the *Turks* than they under the *Spaniards* : yet I must note also, That of all the *Christian* States, the *Turks* are the worst provided to deal with the *Spanish*, for of all others, that most subsists on Fortresses, which would prove hard knots to the *Turk*, whose Nature and Orders Military are not in any one point so much defective as in that of Siege.

From *Palermo* I rode to *Trepuny*, from thence I embarked for *Naples*, whose rarities entertained me some dayes : then went I by *Rome*, so by *Florence* and *Bologna* to *Venice*, where I arrived the eleventh month after my departure from thence ; having in that time, according to the most received divisions of *Turkey*, been in nine Kingdoms thereof, and passed six thousand miles and upward, most part by Land.

Thus have I set down such Observations as were of passage local, and naturally born along with the places whereon I took them ;

Now follow the more abstract and general concerning the Institutions of the whole Empire; wherein I take but the accounts of a reckoning made in haste, and therefore subject to the disadvantage of a hasty view; that is, to overslip many things, and to see the rest but superficially: yet usually quick glances take in the most eminent pieces; amongst which there are some like the dye of Scarlet, better discerned by a passing eye than a fixt; of this nature I esteem the moral points of behaviour; a new Comer apprehends them with a judgment fresh and sincere, which further familiarity corrupts with affection or hatred, according as it meets a disposition conform or contrary: The most important parts of all States are Four; Arms, Religion, Justice, and Moral Customs: In treating of these, most men set down what they should be, and use to regulate that by their own silly education and received opinions guided by subtilties and moralities imaginary; this I leave to *Utopians*, who doting on their Phantastique Supposals, shew their own capacity, or hypocrisy, and no more: I in remembering the *Turkish* Institutions, will only Register what I found them, not censure them by any rule but that of more or less sufficiency to their aim, which I suppose the Empires advance-

ment.

ment: First then, I note their *Arms*, because in the sway of mens affairs it is found, ——— *Omnia esse gladii pedissequa*; in that fear, as the strongest of our passions, awes all the rest. Their Infantry consists of two sorts: First, such as are levied upon particular Cities; they are more or less according to occasion, the ability of the Town, and distance from whence summoned: many of them are *Christians*, and are sent forth much better appointed in Clothes than with us: each Town in several Colours, and their Arms sufficient: they are lodged and exercised without the City, almost a month before they begin to march. The other part and chief strength is of the *Jannizaries*, whose number, at my being in *Turkey*, was four and forty thousand, which as it fails, they use to supply upon occasion, but never exceed: The manner is to reinforce these Bands thus; ever now and then there are sent out Officers into divers Provinces, especially the Northern, who, out of all the *Christian* Children, from the age of ten, to eighteen or twenty, choose without stint or exception, such as they think fit, and carry them to *Constantinople*; these they call *Agemoglans*: then after some observation of their Persons, those of most promising parts are selected for the *Grand*

Signior his *Serraglioers*, either that of *Constantinople*, or his other of *Andrianople*, where they are taught to write and read, to understand *Arabick*, to use their Bow, with other Weapons: Then call they out the choicest Sparks, who, as their capacities grow approved, are instructed in State-Affairs, and by degrees taken into highest Preferments; these are called *Jehoglans*: The worst and of least quality are assigned to the drudgery of the Household, to the Gardens and other base Offices; some are made Mariners and Galeots: the general sort, neither rare nor contemptible, are by the *Aga* of the *Janizaries* distributed abroad, where, without charge to the Prince, they earn their living by hard labour, till the age of two and twenty; Then, so inured to endurance befitting a Souldier, they are brought back, taught their Arms, and prepared for Service: these are enrolled *Janizaries*: This choice and education of Persons apt to each use, must needs make it excellently performed, as being more natural than the course of *Christendom*, where Princes put Arms into the hands of Men neither by spirit or education Martial, and entrust their chief employments with respects of Birth, Riches, or Friends; which to the Service intended, are qualities not so

proper as those personal abilities, which prevail in the *Turkish* Election. These, though the Sons of *Christians*, hate that name above all others, and are found (as I have seen some of them) without any natural affection to their Parents, as it were transplanted, acknowledging themselves the Creatures of the *Ottoman* Family; so much are the present engagements of life too strong for all former ties of blood: Their pay is perpetual both in Peace and War, more or less according to personal merit; which excites to notable attempts: other Preference they receive none, unless it be a *Timarre*; for if any of them should be in Honour, he might be too much regarded by his fellows, whom the Prince will not permit to acknowledge any besides himself; for which respect this Emperor at *Andriano-ple*, as it were in face of the Army, caused a great Person, once of this Order, to be strangled and proclaimed Traytor when I was in *Hungary*; whereat I heard many of the *Fanizaries* speak insolently in publick, yet durst they do no more, feeling this Princes spirit too great for them.

They are never cast off; for when old or maimed, they are kept in *Garrison*: This Company was held devised in imitation of the *Roman Pratorian Cohorts*, or rather of

the *Macedonian Phalanx*, and hath performed as bravely as either; but is now in great part corrupt; for contrary to their Primitive Institutions, many of them marry, others follow Merchandize; and whereas heretofore they were all chose the Sons of *Christians*, whereby that cause was kept under, and the *Turkish* so much increased; now the *Christians* are permitted for money to excuse their Children, and the *Turks* to prefer theirs: Some hold this an error, a pernicious one, as lessening that due proportion which should be maintained between the compellers and the compelled: The *Turks* rather think the *Christians* not now so strong as heretofore, and therefore not to need the former diminution: experience made me of this opinion, considering that it is many years since most of his *Christian* Countreys were taken in, and how every Age dyes them of a more deep *Mahometan* than other; but should he win any *Christian* Province of new, he would not spare in this way to exhaust it, till it were sufficiently enervate.

The mortallest corruption of this Order hath hapned of late years, that is, knowing their own strength, and grown laucy with familiarity at Court, they have proceeded to such insolence, as hath flesh'd them in the blood

blood of their Sovereign *Sultan Osman*; and in *Mustapha* they have learnt that damnable Secret of making and unmaking their King at pleasure, whereby the foundation of all Monarchy, that is, the due awe towards the blood Royal, is so irreparably decayed in them, as like the lost state of Innocence, can never be restored.

This requires an erection of new Bands never tainted, to supplant these *Janizaries*, who else will grow to such a Military *Anarchy*, as did the *Pretorians* of *Rome* in their Empire, till they reduce it to nothing: Wherefore some think, that the Expedition wherein the *Grand Signior* hath now engaged his Person against *Persia*, is designed with a resolution to spend the *Janizaries* very freely.

The Cavalry is made up of two sorts; First, of *Spahyglans*, to the number of two and thirty thousand: these are continually near the Court: out of them are chose Troops to guard his Person Royal upon all removes; they used not to go to War except he went himself, but of late they are often sent with the *Gran Vizier*: The other sort of *Spahyes* are termed *Spahy-Timarists*, from certain *Timarres*, or *Fendes*, given them for term of life, with obligation to serve on Horseback well appointed, wheresoever they shall

be summoned : This is not much unlike our old Tenures of Knights-service or Escuage, but not Hereditary : according to the value of the *Timarr*, the *Timariot* is to come in with one, two, three, or more Horses ; I have seen many bring in five or six : this reason till I was informed of, I wondred to see Cavaliers carry to the Wars such superfluous retinue ; as frequently to have men riding after them, some bearing a Coat, some a Fiddle, many nothing : These *Spahy-Timariots*, besides their service in War, have another use no less important, that is, to awe the *Provinces* wherein they live, and cause them to be well *Cultivate*; wherefore in all Expeditions many are left at home: they are bravely Horsed, managing their Lance and Bow with much dexterity : their number is uncertain, as ever multiplying, either upon better population of old Possessions, or Conquest of new ; so both Peace and War encrease them ; nothing but the loss of a Province doth diminish them : for their Death is but the Preferment of new defenders.

At this time, the owners of the *Timars* are about three hundred thousand, whereto added their companions, which they are obliged and never fail to bring in, they make in all above seven hundred thousand; which

number was told me, with many other of their notes, by some of the *Timariots* in the Army, where, though held a Spy, they scorned to afflict me, but rather chusing to glorifie their State in my Relation at home, informed me of all, and much against my will forced me in their presence to write it down; which I did in Italian, and in terms so respective, as when the *Interpreter* expounded, they received me exceeding kindly, making me eat, drink, and lodge in their Tents all night.

Beside the *Spahyes*, there are another sort of Horsemen, who are Voluntaries, serving at their own charge; they are of three sorts, Some come in hopes of present Booty; Others to merit a *Timar*; the Third in meer devotion, to gain Paradise by dying for the *Mahometan* cause.

The first of all others, the basest, mixt of *Turks* and *Christians*, usually go before the Army to spy and pillage; they having rather the spirits of *Free-booters* than of *Souldiers*, would never stand one stroke of an encounter, but that the desperate bravery of their Companies does often engage them irrevocably.

The second sort are forward enough, especially where the service is eminent.

The third are the most resolute Troops of

the Army; they come like so many *Decii*, men vowed for the publique: nor are they known ever to return home, unless with victory; some of them are daily seen single to invade a whole Squadron; others after much assay of valour, open their breasts and stand a volley of Muskets: These men are heavy upon the Enemy; For, ———

Vincitur haud gratis jugulo qui provocat hostem

This Resolution is not the child of Reason or Honour, but bred by way of Religion; for *Mahomet* knowing he had not to deal with a Scholastique and Speculative Generation, but with a people rude and sensual, made not his Paradise to consist in Visions and *Hallelujahs*, but in delicious Fare, pleasant Gardens, and Wenches with great eyes, who were ever peculiarly affected in the *Levant*: Now to such as die in Wars for the *Mahometan* Faith, he promises that their Souls shall suddenly have given them young lusty Bodies, and set in Paradise eternally to enjoy those pleasures, notwithstanding any former sins: To those who die other deaths he assigns a *Purgatory* tedious, and at last not such a height of pleasure: It is scarce credible what numbers these hopes bring in; I have seen Troops sometimes of above an

hundred together; so effectual an Instrument of State is *Superstition*, and such deep impressions doth it make when fitted to the passions of the Subject, and that useful in those whom neither Reason nor Honour could possess.

The chief *Auxiliaries* of the *Turks*, are the *Tartars* who live on this side Mount *Taurus*; they are by us called the *Petit Tartars*, to distinguish them from those others of *Chriem*, who have much vaster Dominions beyond the Mountain, but thereby of difficult Commerce with these parts of the World.

The great *Turk* hath made frequent affinity and league with these *Petit Tartars*, and hath entayled the *Crown* upon them in case the *Ottoman* Line should fail; not only because when a small Nation inherits a greater, the lesser is immerit in the access to the greater; which under colour of losing it self, makes an acquit of its inheritors; but for other regards peculiar to that Nation, especially for their scituation upon the *Black Sea*, in such manner, as they may at pleasure make sudden Excursions to the very point of *Constantinople* it self; nor had the *Turk* any remedy when absent in impresses from home: wherefore he casts many eyes upon them, and seldom goes to War with-

out

out some of their Troops, which beside the Aid and Reputation they afford him, are a kind of Holtage: In this preparation against *Poland*, there came down forty thousand of them to the *Camp*, but were marched forward with the Army before my arrival, so that I saw none of them save some few sick and cashiered persons, who seemed more fallow and ill-favourder people than the *Turks*, not so well cloathed, nor so civil; and those *Turks* who wished me well, forewarned me from going amongst them, telling me their hatred to *Christians* was such, as they would go near to Captive or Rifle me: When I entred the skirts of the *Empire*, the same of their Army then meeting for *Poland*, was (as fame uses to be) excessive, threatning no less than seven hundred thousand; but upon nearer access, it scarce held up one hundred and fourscore thousand, reckoning in the *Tartars*; whereupon I much enquired why the *Turkish* Armies were not now so numerous as in former times: Among many Answers, the wisest hit upon three points, First, that the *Enemies* now (excepting the *Persian*) were not so Potent as heretofore: Secondly, Experience had taught them, that Multitudes over-vast are neither capable of Order nor Provision; wherefore to avoid confusion

and famine, they bring no more into the field than are necessary. The third was, before their Dominions were enlarged, they thought it better to employ their Multitudes in new Conquests, than to leave them idle, necessitous, and dangerous at home; but since their enlarged Territories, they are distributed into Colonies, to people and mannage them, which thereby will in time become more populous and potent than ever: Thus did none of them acknowledge any diminution of people, as is plainly supposed by many who never viewed their great Swarms and vast Plantations.

The *Turkish* Arms much differ from ours: their Harquebuze like our Calyver; their Scymitar a crooked flat Back-sword; at Sea amongst Ropes, or on Horse-back against Armour it excels a Rapier, but in open fight is much inferiour: It hath ever been the *Eastern* weapon, as likewise their Iron Mace, which they use both in stroke and hurle; they are admirable with their Bows and Arrows: There is among other Trophies, at the Castle-gate of *Belgrade*, set up an Head-piece, which I hold Petronel-proof, shot clean through both sides, (and as they say) head and all, with one of their Bows; the Arrow (as all theirs are) like those little red ones which our Children use, I saw yet sticking

sticking in the Head-piece : they bear no Weapons but in Travel, then some of them seem like a moving Armory : First, the Girdle stuck with three or four Pistols ; then on each side a Knife as long as mine arm, with another of a foot long for ordinary uses tuckt to his Coat ; an Harquebuzer on his shoulder ; on his Thigh a Scymitar ; on the one side of the Saddle-pummel a Petronel, on the other a straight Sword, the blade hollow, long, and four-square ; by that, either a little Axe, or an *Hungarian-Macc*, or both ; at his Back hang Bow and Arrows : When he comes to his lodging, all these, with his Bridle full of Brass gills Bosses, he fastens to the Tree or Wall where he rests ; after, upon the ground spreads a Blanket, whereon he first supps, then sleeps in his Cloathes, with his Saddle instead of a pillow.

Armour I think they have not so plentiful and compleat as we, yet I know not well, for it was ever packt up on Horse or Waggon ; to three Horsemen was allowed one Waggon. I saw no Musters nor Marches near an Enemy, and therefore have little experience of their Discipline in that point. They march in Rank and File with wonderful silence, which makes Commands received easily : They are alwayes provided

of Bisket, dry Fish, and store of Rice, with a kind of course Butter; so as in the greatest Desarts they are in plenty.

Thus their Armies pass the sandy barren Countreys towards *Persia*, with less endurance than did the *Romans* in small numbers of old.

One notable piece of their Discipline they told me; that is, accepting none but the *Janizaries* to encompass all their other Foot-Battagliaes in the Rear, with greatest part of the Horse, in form of a *Half Moon*: They have order not to meddle with an Enemy, but only to necessitate their own forward till they have gone through the opposite Forces; and in case of flight, to hold them out to slaughter; which done, themselves begin upon the Enemy. Thus that necessity, which is the Mother of all brave performance in vulgar spirits, and which the Ancients so much sought to cast upon the Souldier, by Hills, Rivers, and such Scituations, the *Turks* carry along in all places, thereby forcing Valour even out of Fear; so serving themselves effectually of People neither Valiant nor Affectionate, and that without Intreaties, Donatives, or other inconvenient Indulgence of Government.

Thus much of their Land-Forces: Their Navies

Navies are provided to the *Seas* within their Dominions: The chief are the *Black Sea* and the *Mediterraneum*; the *Hellepont* I esteem but a passage from the one to the other: Their *Bosphoron* Fleet trades into the *Black Sea* upon several services; as to invade the *Muscovite*, *Circasses*, *Cossackes*, with others, returning in *July* or *August*, laded with Honey, Wax, and especially Wood and Slaves, which it transports to *Alexandria*, buying therewith Flax, Sugar, Sherbets, Rice, Tapestry, Corn, and other *Egyptian* Commodities; with which, and part of the Tribute, in *January* they return for *Constantinople*; so enjoying the Trade-Winds which in those parts usually in Summer fit Northerly, and in Winter Southerly.

The other part of their Navy serves upon the *Mediterraneum*; it is called the *Barbary-Fleet*: it is the more Warlike, and acknowledges the *Grand Signior*, but not so absolute; for the gains of the other Fleet goes to his Coffers, but what the *Moors* get is their own; which makes them more earnest in *Pyracy*, and desirous to be held as *Pirates* to gain a kind of liberty, and that all *Christians* may be prize, without any impediment by League at Court, this the *Turk* grants under the excuse of their disobedience and

Pyracy.

Pyracy, he infects those *Christians*, who being in League with him, he could by no other pretence weaken; and this also in case of necessity, keeps him an exercised Fleet for War: That this is connivance appears plain, for he Claims and Protects their Cities, though not their Persons; and they never make Booty of *Turkish* Goods or Subject, though a *Christian*; and divers of them I saw sayling in the midst of the *Armado Royal*; yet they counterfeit the *Pirate* so well, that the Gallies and Vessels of *Argiers* will not come within the *Dardanelli*: And my self not then knowing this Art, had at *Rhodes*, by a rash mistake, almost lost my liberty; where the Admiral Galleon of *Tripoly* coming for fresh Water, Rode in the Mouth of the Port above three hours without casting Anchor, as pretending fear of being within command; this made me judge it an *English* Ship, as likewise the Colours, which so far off I took for the Kings: wherefore, desirous to see my Countrey-men, I hired a *Greek* Boat-man to carry me thither, where being almost arrived, I perceived my desperate error, from whence I was forced with Entreaty, Money, and my Dagger at his Breast, to make him row me off.

The *Turks* are but ill supplied with Seamen:

men: for beside *Renegadoes*, they have but few skilful Saylers, and would have had fewer, but that, as of old the *Carthaginian* Hostility exercised the *Romans* at Sea, who else had not so early learnt Navigation, and by consequence, could not so soon have mastered the World: just so, (though in a far weaker manner) do *Florence* and *Malta* contest with the *Turk* at Sea, enough to practise but not defeat him: to which effect I have heard some of them by way of Jeer say, That the *Gran Duke* and *Malta* did by the *Grand Signior*, like little barking *Dogs* about a *Lion*, keep him awake; and if sometimes they ventured to give him a nip, it did but rouse him, without any hurt of importance. For ought I knew they had reason: for though Resistance be necessary, yet when so insufficient, it is worse than none.

Their terms of Navigation are *Italian*, either to their Slaves, being most of that Nation; or that themselves, Inlanders Originally, have a Language defective in Maritime Affairs: Their Vessels are either *Turkish* built, or Prizes: their own built they call *Caramuzael*s, many whereof are great Ships; all have Rounds on the outside like stairs; the Stern and Fore-castle built four or five stories high; so as I have

seen

seen some of them carry seven or eight hundred Passengers: That Form makes them slow of Sayl, Unwarlike, and easily over-set by Weather. Their Gallies are Light, of an excellent Mould, and endure an high Sea, especially those of *Rhodes*.

The main strength of both their Fleets, are tall Ships taken from *Hollanders*; where the Cowardize of that Nation is made a Weapon against all *Christendom*; and teaches us what a virtuous cruelty it would be, to bar Ransom or Return to all who yield their Ships, upon what odds soever. All great Examples have a little of the unjust: now though this might seem hard measure to such who yielded upon extream odds; yet were it neither so general a mischief, nor so important, as the contrary indulgence; and men would not only become more resolute in those necessities, but more wary of going ill provided.

Nothing makes the *Hollanders* so faint, as the *Turkish* known decree of impunity, and liberty personal to such as render without discharge of Artillery; wherefore, they seeing present safety in yielding, and no future destruction at Home, do easily give up other mens Goods for their own security: Upon these terms, the Admiral Galleon

where I sayled, a goodly Vessel of forty brave Pieces had been taken, as the *Turks* assured me, by two of their *Polakers* of ten or twelve Guns apiece: Our Ships they do not willingly set upon, not only for their able Defence, but also because the Vessel, which uses to be a considerable piece of the Booty, is to them unuseful; for their Employments being *Piracy*, can make little use of an *English* Bottom, whose Mould is too slow for that purpose: wherewith they asked me how we did in War at Sea, where our enemies might come on or off at leisure? I replied, These which came into their Seas were private Merchants Vessels of Trade, flugs made only for Burden and Weather; But for War, our *King* had a Navy Royal of another frame, the best for Sayl and Fight in the World.

The strangest thing I found among the *Turkish* Mariners, was their incredible civility: I, who had often proved the Barbarism of other Nations at Sea, and above all others of our own, supposed my self amongst Bears, till by experience I found the contrary; and that not only in ordinary civility, but with so ready service, such a patience, so sweet and gentle a way, generally through them all, as made me doubt whether it was a dream or real: If at any time

time I stood in their way, or encumbred their Ropes, they would call me with a *Jannum*, or *Bennum*, terms of most affection, and that with an encline, a voyce and gesture so respective, as assured me their other words (which I understood not) were of the same strain. The Captains chief Gain in this Voyage is by Passengers; yet if interest share in this behaviour, they are not quite void of it, that can act it so well: Nor are they irreligious; for all the Voyage, morning and evening, they salute the Sun with three general Shouts, and a Priest saying a Kind of Letany, every Prayer ending with *Macree Kichoon*, that is, Be Angels present; the people answer in manner of a shout *Homin*, that is, *Amen*.

Thus much of the Military part of *Turkey*, to which I add the Point of *Fortification*: Herein their proceeding is direct contrary to the *Spaniard*; he not having Multitudes of his own sufficient to plant *Colonies*, is forced in all his Conquests (if he will have any people to Govern over) to preserve the *Naturals*: Now they not being assured in Affection, must be awed by Fortresses, which is a way not only unsure, but so chargeable, as makes him gain but little by his winnings.

The *Turk* on the other side, well stored

with people; first, considers what number of his own he will assign for *Timariots* to each *Province* which he takes; then he destroys all its Nobility, and so far of the Vulgar, till there rest only such a proportion as may Till the Land, and be awed by those *Timariots*, with other ready Forces: that Remainder is kept to Manure the land. This thus establish'd, he needs not the Fortress for himself; nor will he leave it a Refuge for Enemies or Rebels: yet if it be a Frontier, he does not quite demolish it, but keeps it in such case, as may hold out till he might send an Army, ever supposing himself Master of the Field: wherefore as it stands in more or less danger, so is it provided.

Thus in *Hungary*, the Castle of *Belgrade* is neither razed, nor carefully maintained; but that of *Buda* is guarded with a strong Garrison: all those within the Kingdom are pulled down; so is it in his other Countreyes: His Maritime Fortifications, because of sudden access by sayl, are held in the rule of Frontiers, and withal to command the Haven; yet is not the care of them so diligent as in *Christendom*; they every where gave me free access, excepting *Egypt*, where the extraordinary subtile malice of that people makes more vigilance

lance and restraint, than elsewhere.

Now follows their *Religion*, wherein I noted only the *Politick Institutions* thereof; these observations moving only in that Sphere, cannot jar with a higher, though the motion seem contrary: *Mahomet* noting the outward Solemnities wherewith other *Religions* entertained the minds of men, he judg'd them perhaps in part effeminate; as those dainty Pictures and Musick in Churches, those strange Vestures and Processions; and partly chargeable, as those stately Sacrifices, and other solemnities of the *Heathen*; and all driven already to that height, as he could not outgo, wherefore he refused to build his Sect thereon: Nor did he much affect to support it with Miracles, whose credit frequent Impostures had rendred suspected to the World; but rather chose to build it upon the *Sword*, which with more assurance commands mankind: Every Novelty draws men in for a while; but where the gain is not great, they soon grow weary, unless compulsion hold them on; therefore in his first beginnings, when he was asked what Miracles he had to approve his Doctrine, he drawing forth his *Scymitar*, told, That *God* having had his Miracles so long slighted by the incredulity of men, would now plant his

Laws with a strong hand, and no more leave them to the discretion of ignorant and vain man; and that he had therefore sent him in the power of the *Sword*, rather than of *Miracles*: From hence is it that now their Boyes ride to *Circumcision*, bearing an Iron Club in their hands.

Nevertheless, he failed not to frame his Sect so as might take humane Nature, not the Intellectual part; for all *Superstition* subsists on weak *Hypotheses*, whose plausible reason may for a while prevail in the World, by possessing some shallow, rash, peremptory brains, but cannot hold out long, unless it have better root than that of Argument: He therefore made it comply with the main parts of our Nature, Hope and Fear: to the one he set out a Paradise; to the other, though not a Hell, yet a shrewd Purgatory. His preaching of Paradise more than Hell, favours Hope above Fear, thereby filling the mind with good courage, which was much to his *Military* purpose: for he finding the *Sword* to be the *Foundation* of *Empires*; and that to manage the *Sword*, the rude, and sensual, and more vigorous, than wits softened in a mild rational way of civility; did first frame his *Institutions* to a rude insolent sensuality: After which education, he fitted his future

pretences just unto such capacities: wherefore seeing that mens opinions are in great part complexional and habitual, it is no wonder to see them taken with promises, which to us seem beastly and ridiculous: they as much despise ours, and in a more natural way, every thing is received, not at the rate of its own worth, but as it agrees with the receivers humour; whereby their hopes and fears, though false, prevail as strongly as if true, and serve the State as effectually; because Opinion, which moves all other Actions, is governed by the apparency of things, not by their reality.

Now to the intent that the most notable fancies of men might be entertained, there are four severall *Orders* in their Religion, all very malicious against *Christians*; otherwise I have not noted them vicious, excepting their profest *Sodomy*, which in the *Levant* is not held a vice: each *Order* upholds its Reputation upon some one peculiar *Vertue*, which alone it professes, not pretending to any other: The *Calenderim* upon *Chastity*, wearing an *Iron Ring* through the skin of his yard; in some I have noted it capable of being taken off with small difficulty: The *Haggiemlar* on *Musick* and *Love-songs*: The *Torlacchi* on *Revelations* and *Enthusiasms*,

to foretel and divert Divine Wrath : The most rigid spirits are the *Dervishar*, like *Baals Priests*, launcing themselves with Knives ; these *Dervishar*'s have murthered divers *Bashaws*, and also attempted some of the Emperours in the midst of their Armies ; so dangerous are violent spirits, when seconded by Religion, which being the only pretence in its way glorified to *Umpire Sovereign Authority*, is to be kept within its due limits, lest instead of co-operating with the State, it grow abused beyond that use.

All these *Sects* are governed by one Head called the *Musty*, whose Authority unites and orders them ; suppressing such disorders, as the scruples or interests of men raise : This *Musty* is created by the Emperour, to whom he is held ever subordinate ; which makes the *Turkish* Theology excellently to correspond with the State, as depending thereon ; and seems of reason more Politick, then if this head *Ecclesiastick* were of another Countrey, or otherwise independent upon the Prince, whereby having interestes apart, he might often make *God Almighty* seem to decree more conform thereto, than either to the occasions of the Prince, or Common-wealth : for all *Heathenish Gods* are used like *Puppits* ; they seem to speak,

yet

yet is it not they, but the man who in a concealed manner speaks through them what he pleases: that part is acted by the Expounders of their *Alcoran* now, as of the *Oracles* or *Sybilles* Books of old: Hereby the *Mufty* serves to animate the Souldiers, by colouring of publick impresses with Divine Authority, and also to decide Controversies when they are too unruly for any Arbitrement not held Divine; wherefore he frequently consults with the *Gran Vizier*, who (as the soul of the State) inspires him to the purpose thereof, full of that Godd he gives his Oracles: They pass for grounded upon the *Alcoran*, which is given out for the Word of God: it is written in *Arabick* verse, in form of Dialogue, between the Angel *Gabriel* and their *Prophet*; it is prohibited to be translated; which both preserves the *Arabick*-Tongue, and conceals Religion.

All set *Texts* are obnoxious to several Expositions; thence grows distraction: So hath this bred four different Sects of *Mahometans*, each interpreting it according to the genius of its Nation: The *Tartars* simply; the *Moors* and *Arabs* superstitiously; the *Persians* ingeniously; the *Turks* with most liberty: each Nation scorns to yield unto other in opinion for honours sake, especially the *Turk* and

Persian, who intended the Conquest of one another, do (after the old custom of Princes) dis-affect their People in Religion toward an Enemy, that they may be more fierce and obstinate against him. In this Point the *Turk* grows disadvantaged; for of late, his people begin to be infected with *Persianism*: I have heard many of them in publick acknowledge the *Persians* better *Mahometans* than themselves; which makes the *Turks* much braver Souldiers upon the *Christian* than upon the *Persian*; against the one, they are carried by Zeal, Malice, and Disdain; but against the other, only by a National emulation: This impression is made deeper by many other circumstances, insomuch as divers *Janizaries* have told me, That they go to the Wars of *Persia* very unwillingly; but to these of *Poland* or *Hungary*, as to pastimes. One of their Priests told me of an old Prophecy they have; That their Emperour should win the Red Apple; and in the seventh year after, if they did not defend themselves bravely, the Christians should overcome them; but howsoever, in the twelfth, they should at the furthest be overcome by the Christians. The Red Apple (he said), was *Constantinople*, though some (quoth he) hold it to be *Rome*. I holding such Prophecies rather cunning than true,
searched

searched after the Plot thereof; wherefore I entreated him to tell me, how much time was contained in those years? He answered, That each year some had limited by the age of *Mahomet*, but (quoth he) in vain, for it is prohibited us to search into the times appointed. That clause gave me some light, for I remembred, among other causes of a States preservation, one assigns proximity of danger; his reason is, because apprehension of danger causes vigilance and diligence, wherein lyes safety: hereupon this *Prophet*, to make the *Turks* vigilant against the *Christians*, threatens them with the seventh year, yet not so inevitable, but valour may resist; and to make every year provided against, as that, therefore it is prohibited to fix the time determinate: then their fatal destruction not to pass the twelfth year, makes them in the mean while use the *Christians* as their future destroyers, with much hostility, as a revenge anticipate; which serves right to the purpose of the State: and when all comes to all, those years (as such *Prophecetical* times use) are like to prove very long ones.

Amongst other qualities whereby *Mahometism* possesses the minds of men, one is its pleasing Doctrine: I remember when their *Prophet* in the *Alcoran* asks the *Angel* concerning

arning *Venerary*, and some other *delicacies of life*; he tells him, That God did not give man such appetites to have them frustrate, but enjoyed, as made for the gust of man, not his torment, wherein his Creator delights not. These kind of opinions will ever be welcome to Flesh and Blood, when as the contrary over-great severity of Discipline would have pleased none but some few Austere Complexions, and to the greater part would have seemed but a persecution of Nature, or perhaps Hypocritical, whose reputation might soon have been lost in scandal.

The cunning of that seconding humane Inclination, appears in the different success of two Politick Acts of the *Alcoran*: the one permits Polygamy, to make a numerous People, which is the foundation of all great Empires: The other pretending a Devil in every grape, prohibits Wine; thereby it hardens the Souldier, prevents disorder, and facilitates publick Provision: The first, as pleasing to Nature, is generally received: The other is worn down by Appetite, so as more drink Wine than forbear. Thus he maintaining his Institutions by seconding of Humane Disposition, succeeds more readily than those whose Ordinances, by crossing it, go as it were against the hair. Now the greatest

greatest number of men being governed by Passions, in all people they have been entertained, for the present life, with Justice; for the future, with Religion: yet there are ever found some few Intellectual complexions, in whom the Understanding prevailed above the Passions: those discerning wits could not receive the gross supposals upon which the *Heathenish Superstitions* relied; wherefore to train them in such wayes as civil societies require, they were instructed in a seeming rational way, wherein they were amused about an intelligible World, storep with rewards of Honour, Virtue, and Knowledge; with punishments of Infamy, Vice, and Ignorance: these were to them instead of *Elysian Fields*, or *Infernal Rivers*; and as some scoffers think, but little better of assurance, only righter framed to such capacities: by these speculations, contemplative heads, who else might dangerously have busied themselves about State-Affairs, were finally mop'd and diverted: To which purpose I have oft considered, Whether Learning is ever like to come in request among the *Turks*; and as far as conjecture may venture, I doubt not thereof, for Learning is not admitted in the beginning of Empire,

———— *Emollit mores, nec finit esse feros.*

And

And so weakneth the Sword; but when once that hath bred greatness and sloth, then with other effeminacies come in Letters: Thus in *Rome*, at the first, *Philosophers* were banish'd, as unactive; but upon the Conquest of *Carthage* and *Greece*, they crept in: And the *Turkish Empire* consists much on those Countreys whose Ear makes speculative Wits, and which of old bred the greatest Divines, Philosophers, and Poets in the World; wherefore, though for some Ages, the *Turkish-Race* may retain its own proper fierceness; yet in time, those subtile Climates and mixture in Blood with the people thereof will Gentilize and infect it with the ancient softness, natural to those places. I have often seen Copies of Love-verses, and some few pieces of Mathematicks pass amongst them with much applause: I saw one, for Singing and Composing two or three *Sonnets*, had at a Feast at *Belgrade* of *Hungary*, a Horse given him worth near twenty pounds *English*; and in the access of all Arts, Poets have ever made the first entry, as with their Fictions and Musick, aptest to charm Savage brains: Thus *Orpheus* in *Greece*, our *Bards* in *England*, began the Dance to all other Sciences: Statuary and Picture can never come into *Turkey*, by reason of their Superstition, which not only abhors

hors worshipping of such Forms, but making of them : As for other Learning, it is like to insinuate ; but by degrees, and with many repulses, as a corruption most pernicious to their Religion, especially the searching parts of *Philosophy*, which stomachs that sensual Paradise, as hath been noted in *Averroes*, *Avicenna*, and others, who could not endure it: thereupon the *Academy* which began to rise up at *Bagadat* was suppressed : yet let no man conclude that this can hinder *Philosophy* ; for there can never want wits able to bend it to Religion with them, as well as *Plato* with the *Grecians*, and *Aquinas* with the *Romanists*.

Now the Natural course of things much follows the Sun, who gives life to all, whereof this *Cyclopedia* hath been observed to run from East to West : Thus have most Civilities and Sciences come (as some think) from the *Indian Gymnosophists* into *Egypt*, from thence into *Greece*, so into *Italy*, and then over the *Alps* into these faine North-West parts of the World ; whence, if the Inquisition hinder not, perhaps they may pass into those new Plantations Westward, and then return into their old circle among the *Levantine*s, whose Wits seem more abstruse, and better fixt for contemplation ; but ours more nimble and ready : so as their
dis-

discourses are more profound, ours more superficial and plausible; and were I to account for the loss of their antient Authors, I should not only accuse Language, Tyranny, War, and interest Ecclesiastick, but especially this different relish and strain of our fancy from theirs; for I have found it in conceits, as in Aires of Musick; in great part, that takes not with them, which much affects us; our very reason differs.

Before I shut up this point of *Turkish* Religion, I must remember two principal points; one is *Predestination*, the other *Purgatory*: the first not meant in matter of Salvation, but of fortune and success in this life, they peremptorily permit to destiny fixt, and not avoidable by any act of ours: I had two notable examples; one was at *Rhodes*, where just as we entred the Port, a *French* Lacquey of our company died with a great Plague-sore, which he had taken of the Gunners-Mate, who, with one running upon him, conversed and slept amongst us: The rest were so far from fear at his death, as they sat presently eating and drinking by him, and within half an hour after his removal, slept on his Blanket, with his clothes instead of a pillow; which when I advised them not to do, they pointed upon their fore-heads, telling me, it was written there at their birth

when.

when they should die : they escaped, yet divers of the Passengers died thereof before we got to *Egypt* : The other was at my passage to *Adrianople* in *Thrace* ; my self, the *Janizary*, and one more, being in a Coach, we passed by a man of good quality, and a Souldier, who lying along with his Horse by, could hardly speak so much, as to entreat us to take him into Coach : the *Janizary* made our companion ride his horse, taking the man in ; whose breast being open, and full of Plague-tokens, I would not have had him received ; but he in like manner, pointing to his own forehead, and mine, told me, we could not take hurt, unless it were written there, and that then we could not avoid it : the fellow dying in the night by our sides, and in our indemnity approved this confidence to be sometimes fortunate, how wise soever ; doubtless for the publick it causes Valour, and prevents that interruption of Trade, wherewith the Office of Health in *Italy*, ruines greater numbers daily, than any Plague ever did : I thought this Opinion of Fate had usually taken men off from all industrious care of their own safety ; but in dangers at Sea, and other cases where diligence may evidently import, I have still found the contrary ; and in such occurrents as these, where industry is not of manifest avail,

avail ; this assurance does not so much hurt in leaving vain care, as good in strengthening the spirits, whose decay yields a man up to all bad impressions. They admit no Hell for any but those who believe not *Mahomet* ; Their own they affright with a Purgatory, which holds but till *Dooms-day* ; it is acted in the Grave ; the pain is inflicted by a bad Angel, whose force is lessened by a good one, according as the Parties life was led : to strengthen this good Angel, they do many works of charity : this furnisheth all *Turkey* with excellent *Hanes*, *Hospitals*, and *Mescheetoers* ; this makes the best *Bridges* and *High-ways* that can be imagined, and stores them with *Fountains* for the relief of *Pasfengers* : These fair works so caused, seem to me like dainty fruit growing out of a dung-hill ; but the vertues of vulgar minds are of so base a nature, as must be manured with foolish hopes and fears, as being too gross for the finer nutriment of reason. These were the chief points I observed in their Religion ; only the manner of its exercise remains, which in brief is thus : To every *Mescheeto* is adjoynd a high slender Spire-Steeple ; on the out-side whereof, on high, is made a Round, with a Door opening South-east, or East, as the Countrey lyes towards *Mecha* ; here the *Priest* entring with

his hands bowed over his ears, walking round, turning on the right hand, in a loud voice tells the people many times over, *That there is but one God*: This being done, all the Devouter sort (which are not many) go to Church and say their Prayers, continually repeating ——— *Alloyb-Valloy-Hibilloyh*, that is, the several Names of God. Their gestures are first sitting cross-legg'd, waisting of the body; then prostrate twice on their face, they kiss the earth; afterward they rise, and stand with their hands bowed over their ears, but never do they kneel, or uncover the head, holding those postures unmanly; So different are the opinions of Nations in point of Reverence and Decency: this Service is performed five times a day: ~~first at~~ Day-break; then at Mid-day; at midst of the After-noon; at Sun-set; and more than an hour after: The first and last make a dainty show, having all the *Mescheetoës* hung full of burning Lamps: this frequency of Prayer, requires none to the Church, but persons at leisure; others make their Houses or High-ways serve, and was devised by *Sergius* the Monk, as it is thought, in imitation of his four-times *Pater-noster*; knowing that *Religion* runs no greater danger than of *Oblivion*, and therefore should be often called to mind: their chief day is *Friday*, yet

yet it hinders no Market for ought I could see, and seemed of no more regard, than the day of a *Saint* almost worn out. They have two solemn times, *Byram* and *Ramdan*; they are both Lents; the first lasts three dayes, the other a month: their Fast is according to the *Jewish* manner, not in quantity or quality of meats, but in time; for all day long they may neither eat, drink, nor use any sort of Venerie; but at the appearing of the first Star, they make themselves amends in gluttony, drunkenness, and lust. They have one piece of Divinity, which I wonder is not transplanted to other Countreys; that is, a custom of the *Priests* to sell their *Merit*; some more, some less, according to the *Sanctimony* of the *Seller*, and time limited: I once at *Sophia*, saw one sell the virtue of two years *Hermitage* for a piece of blue Cloth, sufficient for two *Turkish* Coats, and a quantity of Rice, about five Bushels *English*; price enough, considering the Ware in it self; and yet not dear, if we reckon the advantages of *Religious* reputation.

Next their *Church*, I must place the *Tribunal*; for their *Judges* are ever *Ecclesiastical* persons, whereby both *Orders* joyned, give reputation to one another; and not only reputation, but maintenance: for these places of *Judicature* are the only preferment

of

of the *Priest-hood*, wherewith the *Priest* and *Judge* being maintained in the same person, two gaps are stopt with one bulsh, without causing any part of the Land to lie dead in the hands of the Clergy, or otherwise impoverishing the people with Tythes.

There are divers *Orders* of *Judges*; especially two; the *Cady*, and over him the *Moulacady*, like a Lord Chief-Justice: the Supreme head of *Judicature* is the *Musty*; in great cases there lies appeal; but none beyond the *Musty*; his Decrees the Emperour himself will not question, for indeed they are secretly guided by his assent, and the *Gran Viziers*: These *Judges* are all, excepting the *Musty*, limited to set *Precincts*, and when convicted of corruption, they are made horrid examples: The main points wherein *Turkish* Justice differs from that of other *Nations*, are three: it is more severe, speedy, and Arbitrary: They hold the foundation of all Empires to consist in exact obedience, and that in exemplary severity; which is undeniable in all the World, but more notable in their State, made up of several People, different in Blood, Sect, and Interest one from another, not linkt in affection, or any common engagement toward the Publick good, other than what meer terrour puts upon them; a sweet hand were unef-
fectual

fectual upon such a subject, and would soon find it self slighted; therefore the *Turkish* Justice curbs and executes, without either remorse or respect; which succeeds better than ever did the *Romans* with all their milder Arts of Civility: compare their *Conquests* with those made by the *Turk*, you shall find his to continue quiet and firm, theirs not secure for many ages; witness first *Italy*, then *Greece* and *France*, alwayes full of *Rebellions*, *Conspiracies*, and new troubles, which were caused by their Lenity, that did not humble the Conquered so low as it should, for Rebellion is nothing but bold Discontent; so that as there is required discontent, so must there be also some strength of Spirit, without which the discontent cannot quicken into Rebellion, but faints into a stupified humility: All Victory disgusts the subdued; a mild victor leaves that disgust spirited for mischief; but the remorseless way of the *Turk* mortifies it by an Oppression which secures him: To this effect, I have heard divers of them boast, *That God bath appointed them for an Iron Rod over other Nations*: And in most parts of *Turkey* (especially *Sclavonia*, *Bosniah*, *Hungary*, *Macedonia* and *Thrace*, the fiercest people of that Empire) over all Publick places, he sets a great *Iron Club*, to intimate what

what they must trust to: nor does he so much rely upon the peoples affection, which would tye him to a respectful and less absolute domination, and then also be in their power to alter, as upon that strength which is in his own hand, makes him more himself, and binds with the tye of fear, whereto humane Nature is ever enthralled.

The second Point wherein their Justice excels, is the quick dispatch: If the business be present matter of fact, then upon the least complaint the parties and testimonies are taken, and suddenly brought before the Judge by certain *Janizaries*, who with great staves guard each street, as our night-Watchmen with Halberts at *London*. The Cause is ever in less than two hours dispatched, execution instantly performed, unless it appear a Cause so important, as is allowed an Appeal to the *Moulachady*, where also it is as speedily decided: If it be matter of *Title* or *Right*, the parties name their Witnesses, who shall presently be forced to come in; for they have no old Deeds, or any other Reckonings beyond the memory of man; in such Cases, Possession and Modern Right carries it; without that odious Course of looking too far backward into the times past: this expedition avoids confusion, and clears the Court, whereby it becomes sufficient for many Causes,

causes, and so for a great people: now as for the particular person, though sometimes he seem disadvantaged by the haste, which may make judgment rash; yet that haste not being passionate, it happens not often; nor then likely, is his damage therein worse than with us; where after the suspence, delay, and charge of suit, the oversight of a Lawyer may, with error of pleading, cast a good cause; so that after a man hath been miserably detained to such disadvantage of his other Affairs, as he had better have lost his suit at first; then doth it finally depend not so much on its own bare right, as upon the Advocates sufficiency.

The last notable Point in their Judicature is, They have little fixt Law, and therewith flourishing, make good that of *Tacitus*;

— *In pessima Republica plurime leges.*

Yet they pretend to judge by the *Alcoran*, whereby the opinion of Divine Authority does countenance those Arbitrary decisions, which without some authentick Law to justify them, would hardly be endured. This *Alcoran* is manifestly no Book of particular Law-cases, wherefore they pretend its study does not inform the Judge literally, but by way of illumination; which being not
given

given to Secular persons, does neatly put loosers off, from refering themselves to the Text. The Justice being Arbitrary, makes it, in their opinion, the more to the purpose of the Publick; for the *Judges* knowing themselves but Instruments of State, and that in its favour is their establishment, they will ever judge by the interest thereof, if not out of honesty, yet for their own advancement.

I must eternally remember the *Turkish* Justice for honourable to Strangers, whereof I have twice had experience: First at *Saraih* in *Bosnab*, where I was forced to Justice by a *Christian*, whom I had sore wounded, for threatening to buy me for a Slave: when the Cause was declared by two *Turks*, my companions, the *Judge* not only freed me with words and gesture very respective, but fined my Adversary at forty Dollars, and menaced him with death, if any mischief were plotted against me.

Another time at *Adrianople*, eleven or twelve of us supping together, all *Turks* but my self; there was a *Soulack*, who is an Officer very eminent about the Emperours person; he drank so beattly drunk, as in the night, he having a lodging in the top of the Hane, mistook himself, tumbled off to the ground, and within few hours died:

The next morning all the Company was imprisoned but I, who in the night had escaped out of a decayed corner of the Hane, and hid my self under a Bridge, without the City; every man was fined as circumstance did either excuse or aggravate; the least paid four thousand Aspers, some twice as much: The *Judge*, by reason of my flight, suspected some extraordinary guilt in me, and had sent out *Janizaries* for my apprehension.

I seeing the outrageous Drunkenness of the *Turks*, had all my Voyage pretended for little less than a Commandment in the Religion of my Countrey, not to drink above three draughts at a meeting; whereby, the respect of Conscience gave me that privilege of sobriety, which no other excuse could have obtained; wherefore, when the *Judge* was by the rest informed of my abstinence, and that I had no hand in the excess, he called back the Officers, and pronounced me free: wherein, whether he regarded me as abstemious, or as a stranger, I could not learn. One custom in their Justice I have found, which confutes our vulgar Maxim, that sayes, No Commerce can be maintained without fidelity of Oath; for all *Turkey* is but a Miscellany of people, whose Religions have little effect upon the

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Conscience, and that drowned in Faction against one another : some of them, as the *Zinganaes*, do not so much as pretend to any God ; in this case, an Oath were of too slender credit for matters of importance : for he who will commit testimony to Oath, must be sure to uphold in the people an awful and tender sense of Divine Power, or else in trusting Oaths with Tryals, he exalts Knavery in the oppression of Truth : wherefore they put not the Witnesses to Oath, but examine them apart ; wherein some wise *Daniels* may have such art of Questions so unexpected, and of such secret consequence, as no premeditated agreement can prevent. A false Witness endures what the Accused should have done, had he been guilty. The word of a known *Turk* upon the faith of a *Musselman*, bears down all other testimony, unless relieved by strong circumstance. *Three Women make but one witness.*

When any man dies, the Land in most parts of *Turkey* is in the *Emperours* Gift, who also hath the Tenth of his moveables ; the rest, first payes the *Widows* their Joyn-ture agreed and inrolled ; then what remains, is equally divided among his *Children*. The *Son* of any great *Commander*, neither inherits his Fathers dignity, nor is admitted to new : thus are both *Riches* and *Ho-*

four hundred from continuing in a Family; whereby none hath any credit with the people, but as instruments to the *Gran Signior*, who being sole giver of all, every man fits himself to his employments, without possibility of any greatness, unserviceable, independent, or dangerous to the *Crown*: For Place, the right-hand they hold uppermost for the *Clergy*, and the left for a *Souldier*, because it gives a man possession of his companions *Sword*: Thus do both *Orders* converse without the depression of either. Upon this Body of their Laws, I will set one note concerning their Head: Every State is then best fitted, when its Laws and Governours suit with the end whereto it is framed. A State ordered only to preservation, is then happy, when its Laws not only bid Peace, for that is vain, but contrive it, and when the Prince is of Nature peaceable. But the *Turkish* Empire is originally compos'd to amplify by *War*, and for that purpose keeps the *Souldiery* in continual Pay; wherefore it is best fitted with a *Prince* of nature violent and War-like, of which strain the *Mahometan* race use to be; and when any of them hath chanced to prove mild, though never so just and Religious, it hath been found less profitable and glorious to the Empire, than the violence of the others, although accom-

panied

panied with much Tyranny; therefore the supposed errors of *Sultan Murat* now reigning, being manifestly those of a stout Spirit, agree with the violent nature of the Government, wherein they are not so pernicious as the *Christians* imagine. To these better parts of their Justice, I must attaque the main disorder which defames it; that is, their unsatiable Covetousness, which in a Moral or Theological way, this discourse cannot lay hold of; but in respects Civil, it is a thing of dangerous effect, many times disappointing commands of greatest consequence: *Charles* the VIII. of *France*, lost the Kingdom of *Naples*, not so much by any other error, as by the Covetousness of his Treasurer, the Cardinal of *Sy Malo*, in detaining such Disbursements as the King had appointed to the *Provisions* thereof: nor can there be any greater defeat of Publick Designs, than when the Commands whereon they rely, are by the avarice of the inferior Magistrate made frustrate: wherefore I note, it is a pernicious piece of Government, that after the *Bashas* had at *Syphra*, made publick Proclamation to hang all *Janizaries* who should be found behind them; yet did I see many very confidently stay behind, and make their peace for Money with the *Governours* of *Provinces*: some

told me, that if it should come to the *Emperours* notice, he would put those *Governours* to cruel deaths; and certainly such errors can have no less remedies: wherefore *Polybius*, and others, as they write that the *Africans* were alwayes more covetous than those of *Europe*, so also do they accuse them of more cruelty: and sometimes cruelty is not only the cure of their Avarice, but the effect of it, for they gladly take any colour for execution upon those whose death affords a good confiscation. The fourth point proposed was their *moral* parts: those I compare to *Glasses*: the education and Laws of a *Countrey*, are the *Moulds* wherein they are blown to this or that shape; but the *Metal* is the *Spirit* of a man, therefore with that I will begin. It hath been maintained, That men are naturally born, some for slavery, others to command: divers complexions make men timid, dextrous, patient, industrious, and of other qualities right for service; others are naturally magnanimous, considerate, rapacious, daring, and peremptory. No man can say, Nature intends the one sort to obey, the other to rule; for if Nature have intentions, yet is it vanity to argue them by our model — *Quis illi à secretis?* But sure the latter are very prone to invade the others, and they as apt to bear. This difference

rence of Spirit is manifest, sometimes in whole Nations : as to compare the *Spanish* with the *Sicilian* ; the bravery of the one, and pusillanimity of the other, seems naturally to make out the one for Domination, the other for Bondage. Thus if ever any race of men were born with Spirits able to bear down the world before them, I think it to be the *Turk* ; he is in his behaviour, (howsoever otherwise) the right son of *Ishmael* ; every mans hand is against him, and his against every man : between *Christendom* and *Persia*, he hath all the world against him ; he still designs one or both for his task, and that not as other *Princes*, for counterpoise with intent of Peace, but with a resolution irrevocably engaged to be all, or nothing. Unto the greatness of their *Empire*, I do much ascribe the greatness of their Spirits : no man can expect in *Luca*, or *Genoa*, such vast soul'd men, as in old *Rome* ; for mighty *Empires* exercise their subjects in mighty employments, which makes them familiar with admirable examples & great victories, whereby their minds are enlarged : whereas petty States, with their petty employments, timid Councils, and frequent disgraces, impoverish and enfeeble mens Fancies, rendering them pusillanimous, and too straight for great Thoughts. Now as all constitutions

of Bodies are prone to several diseases peculiar to their Frame; so have the Minds of men to their divers abilities, some proper way of error; the *subtile* use to be malicious, false, superstitious; the *timid* inclined to breach of promise, to base wayes of revenge, and the like; the *magnanimous* are apt to be corrupt with an haughty insolency, though in some sort generous: This is the *Turkish* way, remorseless to those who bear up, and therefore mistaken for beastly; but such it is not; for it constantly receives humiliation with much sweetness. This to their honour, and my satisfaction, I ever found: I had almost hourly experience hereof, which my unfoyled success makes me not blush to remember; yet not to weary my Pen, I will note only my second dayes journey, which in the contrary entertainment of my self, and a *Rbagusean*, gave me the first taste: I clad in *Turkish* manner, rode with two *Turks* an hour before our *Caravan*; we found four *Spahy-Timarists* by a River where we staid; they were at dinner, and seeing by my head I was a *Christian*, they called to me; I not understanding what they would, stood still, till they menacing their weapons, rose and came to me, with looks very ugly; I smiling met them, and taking him who seemed of most port by the hand, layed
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it to my forehead, which with them is the greatest sign of love and honour; then often calling him *Sultanum*, spoke *English*; which though none of the kindest, yet gave I it such a sound, as to them who understood no further, might seem affectionate, humble, and hearty; which so appeased them, as they made me sit and eat together, and parted lovingly: presently after, they met the *Caravan*, where was the *Rbagusean*, a Merchant of quality, who came in at *Spalatra* to go for *Constantinople*; he being clothed in the *Italian* fashion, and spruce, they juttled him: He not yet considering how the place had changed his condition, stood upon his terms, till they with their Axes and Iron Maces (the weapons of that Countrey) broke two of his Ribs; in which case, we left him behind half dead, either to get back as he could, or be devoured of Beasts. Not two hours after, I walking alone, on the other side of the River, met six or seven more, who espying a Dagger in my Pocket, snacht it suddenly, and set it against my breast; wherewith one of them speaking *Italian*, I won so far upon them, with respective words, as they had me into a house, where we eat, drank, and lodged together; and though some got very drunk, none offered me any injury, but

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kindly

kindly advised me to lay aside that Weapon, and use such as the Countrey permitted. Finally, after daily success in the like kind, I grew so confident of the *Turkish* nature, as when Lances or Knives were often set against me, I doubted not my self, unless it were by a Drunkard, or a Souldier voluntier; for Drink makes the fancy of the one uncertain, and the other going to merit *Paradise* by killing of *Christians*, was no safe company for me; nor were my wayes, being framed only to receive insolency, able to entertain malice, especially a malice engaged by Religion. This haughty disposition of others, makes the fashions of other Countreys rather despised than imitated; so that in all the In-land of *Turkey*, where *Christian* Merchants use not, if I appeared in the least part clothed like a *Christian*, I was tufted like an Owl among other Birds. At first I imputed it to barbarism; but afterward lamenting thereof to one of the better sort, to note how they understand it: He told me, They would have no novelties, and therefore would disgrace all new examples. Then I perceived it to be a piece rather of Institution, than Incivility; for they desiring perpetual hostility with the *Christians*, must estrange the People from their Customs as utterly as may be: Now there is

no Innovation draws in forreign Manners faster, than that of *Apparel*. Besides that, it seems honourable for the *Turkish* Nation to retain their ancient Habit of Clothing; for as the *French Court* gives this side of the World pattern of *Apparel*, so does the *Turkish* to the *Levant*. Yet they, to this day, vary but little from that long and loose manner of garment, reported to have been ever used in the *East*. Their houses are generally made of *Brick* dried in the *Sun*, poor, and low, that they may not be worth taking from the Child, when the Father dies. The publick Buildings are vast, and stately afar off; that also is wonderfully beautified by the abundance of Trees planted among the Houses, so as each City seems rather a Wood, than a City; which beside the pleasant Aspect, shelters against the Summers Sun, and Winters Wind: The Streets are not broad, but Paved with an high foot-causey on each side; in the middle is passage for Carts and Horses; from the Caves on both sides, is made a boarded Arch not very close, yet much defensive against Sun and Rain. Upon the taking of any Town, the first thing they erect, is publick *Bathes*, which they establish with fair Revenues; so that for less than two pence, any Man or Woman may be bathed with clean linnen,

and

and neat attendance : It is death for any man to enter when Women *bath*, which he shall know by a Bar before the door : He or she who *bath* not twice or thrice a week, are held nasty. Every time they make water, or other unclean exercise of nature, they wash those parts, little regarding who stands by. If a Dog chance to touch their hand, they wash presently. Before Prayer they wash both Face and Hands, sometimes the Head and Privities. Many of their Customs have been in Egypt thousands of years before *Mahometism* : for a necessary thing to prevent Diseases, is cleanliness, in hot Countreys, and to men of gross food : To this *Heradotus* ascribes the old Circumcision in Egypt, and so do I that of *Mahomet*, who had no diviner warrant, and cared not for bare imitation ; for the Authors of Superstition, when they find Customs very useful, knowing that Reason suffices not to hold them in practice with the vulgar, they plant them amongst their own Ceremonies, and make them Conscientious ; which is the only way to put them upon low capacities. In the skirts of each Town, near some River or other pleasing Prospect, there use to be round open *Garden houses*, where any may sit and pass time. Besides all former respects, there is another feat, which furnishes *Turkey* with

with magnificent *Bridges*, *Hanes*, *Mescheetoes*, *High-ways*, and other Publick *Structures*; that is this: When any Provincial *Governour* is both for *Riches* and *Rapine* notorious, he is sure ere long to be circumvented, or else laid open to the Accuser for a Confiscation. He, to prevent this, hath no fairer way then (for the good) to make some work of Eminent Magnificence; wherein he gains two safe points of Reputation, in being held Pious, and exhaust; the one stops the Accuser, the other the Exchequer.

Their *Dyet* is very full and gross; they will refuse all dainties for a piece of *fat Mutton*; that they seeth with *Rice*, which is the most general food they use: they call that mixture *Pilawe*: over it they put *Milk* made thick and sower, called *Tugurt*; with *Pease*, *Rice*, and *Mutton* they make their *Porrage Churbab*. These are the three ordinary dishes of *Turkey*; they want no others, as *Luxury* or *Necessity* require. Their mighty eating I impute to the drinking of *Water*, which after a while makes a good stomach, as by experience I found. They abhor blood, and things strangled, and care little for *Fish* or *Fowl*, but often buy them alive to let them go; whereto they pretend no *Metempsychosis*, or any other reason, but that of natural

natural compassion; wherein they are so good, as to let *Fowl* feed of their *Granaries*; especially in those of *Joseph* at *Grand Cairo*, a place is left open for *Birds*, and some thousands of *Ryals* yearly scored off for the same to the *Basha*: thus are in *Turkey* all *Birds* so tame, never used to violence, as I have thrown my Coat upon *Turtle-Doves* in the *High-ways*, and *Quails* would ordinarily hop upon our Legs and Arms, as we slept in the *Fields*. Every night they shut *Dogs* and *Cats* forth of doors; that is a piece of their Religion, and a cleanly one: The *Dogs* go most together making a hideous noise, and are dangerous by night to *Thieves* and *Drunkards*; others seldom walk among them after it is dark. The only beastly piece of injustice I found among the *Turks*, was their confidence to catch or buy up for *Slave* any *Christian* they find in the *Country*; nor can he escape, unless where he be a settled known *Merchant*, or go with some *Protector*. I met with many, who in such *Voyages* as mine, had saln short, and prophesied the like to me. I have been divers times put to defend my self with my *Knife*, from being shoved into houses, by those who would have kept me a *Slave*; and scarce any day past, but some or other cheapned me with the *Janizary*; who, if he

had

had sold me, I had no remedy, beside what disdain of life might have presented : This I held the worst part of my danger, and against which, there is no preparation of assurance, but in a final Resolution : yet as much as in me lay, I used two wayes of prevention ; one was, when they questioned my condition, and design, which was often ; I gave them several accounts, as I noted the Place and Auditory ; still in effect to shew me born Rich, but faine to Poverty, without any fault of mine ; my Friends all dead, and that having no ability for gain, I had wager'd the small reliques of my Fortune upon a return from *Constantinople* and *Gran Cairo*. This, though far below my Fortunes, yet passed with them for truth ; and such a one, as embellished with fit circumstance, procured me esteem and compassion : and, which was above all, made me appear unprofitable to the buyer ; for they buy more in hope of ransom than service : and therefore often enquired where I had any correspondence. My other way was, to note the territories adjoining, with the wayes for flight ; to study our company ; and giving Wine to some, Money to others, I ever kept in secret Pension some of the *Caravan*, who understood the language, and told me all that past : Then in each place of abode, I acquainted

quainted my self with some *Renegadoe*, whose story after he had delivered, I knew how to make him so much my friend, as in case of danger, would have helpt me to flye, or conceal me: herein was the most expence and unquiet of my *Voyage*: this expected, the *Turkish* disposition is generous, loving, and honest; so far from falsifying his promise, as if he do but lay his hand on his brest, beard, or head, as they use, or chiefly break bread with me; if I had an hundred lives, I durst venture them upon his word, especially if he be a natural *Turk*, no *Moor*, *Arab*, or *Egyptian*; to those I never committed my self, till they had engaged Wife and Children for my safe delivery. They seldom travel single, but expecting till a great number be bound for the same place, go and lodge together: this secures from Theeves: unless they come in Troops, and then the *Governour* sends against them. Though a great part of *Turkey* lth out of new Plantation, and therefore not yet populous, nevertheless in every place of good pasturage, there are Shepherds, some of them with Flocks of two or three thousand, feeding from one City to another, which causes such plenty in Town and Countrey, as for an half-penny in most Towns they sell as much roasted *Mutton* as

one

one man can eat; and for two shillings three pence, I have seen live fat Sheep bought in places two hundred miles from any City. In most Towns an half-penny loaf will suffice two or three men a meal. This plenty was first caused by *depopulation*, but will in time breed greater numbers of their own race. The natural *Turks*, and the *Renegadoes*, are not subject to those Taxes and Toles of *Christendom*, nor is their quiet and plenty fit to be published among the adjoining *Christians*; only Vineyards, in whose hand soever, pay to the *Spabyes*, to the *Guardians*, and others; because Wine is a prohibited Ware: yet after all those Persecutions, it is much cheaper there than in *Christendom*, but not every where to be had; for though in that point *Mahomet's* wise Order suffer violence, yet with the better part it prevails, and makes some drink with scruple, others with danger: the baser sort when taken drunk, are often bastinadoed on the bare feet; and I have se^{en} some after a fit of drunkenness, lye a whole night crying, and praying to *Mahomet* for intercession, that I could not sleep near them; so strong is Conscience, even where the foundation is but imaginary. This want of Wine hath devised other Drinks to their Meat for the better sort; as *Usaph*, which is

is Water sod with *Raisins*, sometimes with *Honey*; but above the rest, they esteem *Sherbets* made with *Sugar*, the juyce of *Lemmons*, *Peaches*, *Apricocks*, *Violets*, or other *Flowers*, *Fruits*, and *Plums*, as each Countrey affords; these are dryed together into a consistence reasonable hard, and portable for their use in *War*, or else-where; mingling about a spoonful with a quart of *Water*. They have another drink not good at meat, called *Cauphe*, made of a *Berry* as big as a small *Bean*, dried in a Furnace, and beat to Pouder, of a Soot-colour, in taste a little bitterish, that they seeth and drink as hot as may be endured: It is good all hours of the day, but especially morning and evening, when to that purpose, they entertain themselves two or three hours in *Cauphe-houses*, which in all *Turkey* abound more than *Inns* and *Ale-houses* with us: It is thought to be the old black broth used so much by the *Lacedemonians*, and dryeth ill Humours in the Stomach, comforteth the Brain, never causeth Drunkenness or any other Surfeit, and is a harmless entertainment of good Fellowship: for there upon Scaffolds half a yard high, and covered with Mats, they sit Cross-leg'd after the *Turkish* manner, many times two or three hundred together, talking, and likely with

with some poor *Musick* passing up and down. The *Musick* of *Turkey* is worth consideration; through all those vast Dominions there runs one *Tune*, and for ought I heard, no more; nor can every man play that; yet scarce any but hath a Fiddle with two strings, and at Feasts and other Meetings will confidently play upon it; but he knows not to what *Tune*, nor can play the same twice over; this I am sure of; for to make experiment, I have ventured to play at divers meetings, pretending the Ayres of my Countrey, to note whether they had skill or no; and took so well, as they have often made me play again; then I found their skill and mine alike, for I never understood the least touch of any Instrument. Nothing could more disguise their *Genius* unto me, who was used to guess at the fancies of men by the *Ayres* wherewith I found them most taken, almost as much as by their discourse.

I must not forget to note their jealousy, wherein a *Turk* exceeds an *Italian*, as far as he us: The cause is *Polygamy*, which makes the Husband guilty of insufficient correspondence, and therein fearful that his Wife may seek a further satisfaction; therefore their Women go muffled all but the eyes, nor are suffered to go to Church, or so much as look out at the Windows of their

own houses: The man may divorce when he will, with restitution of Joynture, and some further satisfaction, as the *Judge* pleases; yet not without some reasonable pretence against the Woman. I saw at *Adrianople*, a Woman with many of her Friends went weeping to a *Judge*; where in his presence, she took off her *Shoe*, and held it the *Sole* upward, but spake nothing: I enquired what it meant? one told me, It was the Ceremony used, when a married Woman complains, that her Husband would abuse her against Nature; which is the only cause, for which she may sue a Divorce, as she then did. That delivery by way of *Emblem*, seemed neat, where the Fact was too unclean for language.

There are very few *Beggars* in *Turkey*, by reason of the great plenty of *Victuals*: only one sort I wondred at, that is, their *Santonnes*, who are able cunning *Rogues*, much like our *Tom of Bedlams*; ever with some such disguise to pretend a crazed Brain; but they act in a more grave, sublime, and meek way than ours: why these are respected, I could never hear any reason other than compassion; but I observed such a reverence born them, as made me think it Religious: nor is it strange, that Superstitions should honour all eclipse of *Understanding*, whose light

discovers them too far. There is no people more courteous of Salutation, than the *Turks*: in meeting upon the *High-way*, one with a *stoop*, and his *hand* upon his *breast*, bids *Salaum Aleek*, the other with like obeisance replies, *Aleek Salaum*; and when any one comes into company, the rest salute him with a *Merabab Sultanum*, ever sweetening their conversation with such accent of pronounciation, and so much respective gesture, as favours of a gentile *Genius*, free from that rudeness whereof they are accused.

Their *Sepultures* are notable: those of *Princes*, or *Great Men*, are covered over with Silk or cloth of Gold, with a *Turbant* at the Head, and set under a vaulted Arch supported by four *Marble-pillars*; some with a little *Cock* of fountain-water, and lamps continually burning; they are made near the *Mescheetoe*, especially if they built one, but never within it: The more ordinary are buried in some pleasant place without the City, with an high Stone standing at the Head, and another at the Feet: that at the Head hath sometimes an *Epitaph*; and if it be a man of quality, is made at top in form of a *Turbant*: those who bestow a *Marble-stone* over them, have it in the middle cut through about a yard long, and a foot broad; therein they plant such kind of Plants or
Flowers

Flowers as endure green all the year long; which seem to grow out of the dead body, thinking thereby to reduce it again into play, though not in the Scene of sensible creatures, yet of those vegetable, which is the next degree, and perhaps a preferment beyond the dust.

The *Turkish* Nation cannot yet be generally abandoned to vice, having two such great Enemies, the *Christian* on this side, the *Persian* on that: were they once removed, it would soon corrupt, like *Rome* after the fall of *Carthage* and *Antiochus*, or worse; for then it would have a far greater Empire than ever the *Roman* was; nor is it much less already, nor wanting so much in extent, as it exceeds in being more absolute, and better compact. It hath ever been, and yet is, the vanity of Nations, to esteem themselves civiller and more ingenious, because more curious in Superstitions than other people, whose moderation, diversity, or disdain of those follies they term barbarous and beastly stupidity, uncapable of such illuminations. Thus of old, the *Egyptians* despised the *Grecians*, they the *Romans*; the *Romans* all the World; and at this day the *Papists* us; the *Jews* them; the *Mahometans* all.

After this discourse of the *Party Imperial*,

I must not forget those other Sects which it hath in its subjection; they are generally *Christians* and *Jews*: *Christian* strangers they call *Freink*, but their own subjects are either *Latines*, *Armenians*, *Greeks*, or of another sort, whereof I have seen infinite numbers, in all that tract of *Bulgary* and *Servia*, who are baptized only in the name of Saint *John*; their difference *Theological* I enquired not, but in Faction I noted them so desperate malicious towards one another, as each loves the *Turk* better than they do either of the other, and serve him for *Informers* and *Instruments* against one another: The hatred of the *Greek Church* to the *Romish*, was the loss of *Belgrade* in *Hungary*; and is at this day so implacable, as he who in any *Christian War* upon the *Turk* should expect the least good wish from the *Christians* in those parts, would find himself utterly deceived. I often was helpt by *Turks* and *Renegadoes*, against the malice of their *Christians*: At *Rhodes* they informed the *Basha* of us, for burying a Boy of our Company; and but for a *Spanish Renegado*, it had cost our liberty. The *Latines* are *Papists*, but so few, and despised, as not to be reckoned. The *Armenians* or *Chaldeans* are also *Christians*, but have a deeper tincture of *Mahometism* than the rest. The

Greek

Greek Church seems little inferiour in number to the *Roman*; for though the *Catholicks* are thicker in *France, Spain, Germany, and Italy*, than the others in *Turkey, Muscovy, and Persia*; yet their Provinces do so infinitely exceed those in extent, as will make the *Greek Church*, though in thinner Plantations, more numerous than the other. This proportion was assured clear before the loss of *Constantinople*, which to *Rome* it self, if not considered as a corival, was a deep blow.

Now in all *Turkey* the number of *Christians* is wonderfully abated: for beside the slaughter in Conquest, they are daily diminished by other arts. The *Turk* takes a more pernicious way to extinguish *Christianity*, than ever the *Heathen Emperours* did: Their hot Persecutions got them the envy which follows cruelty, and made the people compassionate the afflicted cause, whereby commiseration, which is a strong piece of humane nature, blew the flame of zeal, and raised more affection to the cause, than terror could suppress; thence came the saying, *Sanguis Martyrum semen Ecclesie*: the *Turk* puts none to death for Religion, whereby none from Fire or Gallows move compassion to their cause: He rather sucks the Purse, than unprofitable Blood; and by perpetual Poverty, renders them low towards himself,

self, and heavy to one another. He turns the *Christian Churches* into *Mescheetoes*, much suppressing the Publick Exercise of Religion, especially of the *Romish*, though not utterly; so that each Generation becomes less instructed than other, in so much that at this time (as by tryal I found) many who profess themselves *Christians*, scarce know what they mean by being so. Finally, perceiving themselves poor, wretched, taxed, disgraced, deprived of their Children, and subject to the insolence of every Raskal, they begin to consider, and prefer this present World before that other which they so little understand. This turns so many thousand to *Mahometanism*, and prevails with less scandal than Fire and Sword would do, in so much as it goes less harsh with a man to forget his Religion, than to defie it; for Conscience wrought on by education, holds the mind of man, as a Lace wound about a Body: the *Turkish* course unlaces it by degrees as it had been wound up, so brings it off clear; but bloody *Persecution* striving to pull it away at a snatch, is too sudden a violence, disordering and intangling things faster than they were. Thus if we view these affairs no further than the eye of reason can reach, he seems in a probable way to taint all the *Christians* under his Dominions; but

it must be the work of time ; in the meanwhile, they serve to fill his Coffers, and in effect supply him with *Gibeonites* and Husbandmen to till his land, while his *Musselmen* are reserved to the commanding employment of the Sword. Therefore he doth not much care for a general Conversion, as appeared in *Solyman* the Second, who seeing a company of many thousands fall down before him, and hold up the fore-finger, (as their manner of Conversion is) He asked, What moved them to turn ? They replied, It was to be eased of their heavy taxations : He disdaining that baseness, or not willing to lose in tribute, for an unsound accession in Religion, rejected their Conversion, and doubled their taxations. Nevertheless particular Convertites, if serious, voluntary, and persons of important condition, are received with honour and large reward, especially strangers. I saw at *Belgrade* a Feast carried by above threescore persons, and after all, a Horse worth at least thirty pounds, sent from the *Basha* to one of these at the day of his Circumcision ; and I was told he had near a thousand Dollars given by others ; but he had born good Office in *Transylvania*. I once met at the Feast a youth, whose Father was Governour of a neighbour-Town in *Transylvania* ; some in

a jesting manner threatned Circumcision to us both : I knowing their interest lay all towards him, first severed my cause from his, and then jested my self off : but the next day they sent to apprehend him, and if some of his Countreymen had not help'd him over the *Danubius* by night, he had been shut up; for beside the interest of State, he was a handsome youth, and his Father able for ransom; which are two strong motives : unless it be upon such terms, there is seldom any compulsion of Conscience, and then not by death, where no criminal offence gives occasion. I did much converse with *Renegadoes*, and had good opportunity by their *Italian* tongue, to sound what spirits they were, and on what motives they fell off : generally I found them *Atheists*, who left our Cause for the *Turkish*, as the more thriving in the World, and fuller of preferment : These hate us not otherwise than in shew, unless where they find themselves abhorred for their *Apostasie* ; then take heed, for in your ruine they get both revenge, and reputation of zeal : but with a more opportune behaviour, I have won much courtesie from them, and upon occasion, put my life at one of their discretions, and found him noble ; these are the voluntary *Renegadoes* : There is another sort, whom hard

usage and captivity brings in, rather than any ambition or disgust at home. These, though necessitate to hold on, yet they bear a great good will to *Christians*, and likely a deep grudge to the *Turks*; I first noted this by an *Eunuch* of the Garrison of *Belgrade*: I had with Money made him my friend, against any necessity of flight; I going to visit him in his house, nigh the River *Danubius*, found him alone very drunk; he out of that heat, and experience of my engagement, fell to rail against the *Turks*, and withal shewing me how they had marred his game: Well (quoth he) do you see that River? there seldom past a week since I have been in this City, (which was half a year) but some night or other, I have thrown some of their Children therein; and told me that formerly, in other places, he had done many such secret revenges for their gelding of him. Before my experience of these Apostates, I supposed that their Paradise had won many from our side; but of all that I practised, there was none taken either with that, or other points of their doctrine, but manifestly with respects worldly: wherefore seeing how many daily go from us to them, and how few of theirs to us; it appears of what consequence the prosperity of a cause is to draw men unto it, and how uncertain

certainly they judge of all other merit. The chief *Sett* whereof I desired to be informed was the *Jews*; whose modern condition is more condemned than understood by *Christian* Writers, and therefore by them delivered with such a zealous ignorance, as never gave me satisfaction. Their *Primitive* profession was Shepherds, whose innocent kind of life had leisure for the study of that *Hierarchy*, which in after-times their settled possession of *Canaan* put into a *St*; but (as we daily see) Necessity makes shifts, and nothing corrupts clear wits more than desperate fortunes, and foreign conversation; so it befel them in their frequent Captivities, wherein the malice of their estate, and corruptions of the *Gentiles*, did extreaimly debauch their old innocence, and from Shepherds, or Tillers of Land, turned them to what they now are, Merchants, Brokers, and Cheaters: hereto is added no small necessity from their Religion, which as of old, so at this day, renders them more generally odious than any one sort of men, whereby they are driven to help themselves by shifts of Wit, more than others are; and so (as it were) bandying their Faction against the rest of Mankind, they become better studied and practised in malice and knavery than other men. This makes them

thrive notwithstanding all their oppressions, to such excessive riches, as by themselves I have heard alledged as a testimony of divine *Benediction*. They are generally found the most nimble and *Mercurial* wits in the World, which in part is descended from the original complexion of their forefathers, who gave notable testimonies of a subtle generation, and hath been much advantaged by their *Mosaical* Institution of Dyet, a thing of no small effect to refine the blood and spirits of so many descents; yet above all, I impute it to this uncessant necessity and exercise of wit, which ever keeps it up, without growing too remiss and stupid, as usually happens where men are not quickned by such occasions. Hereupon it is that every *Vizier* and *Basha* of State uses to keep a *Jew* of his private Counsel, whose malice, wit, and experience of *Christendom*, with their continual intelligence, is thought to advise most of that mischief which the *Turk* puts in execution against us: Nevertheless, in most of their Conversation, I noted rather the dexterity of a Cheater or Mountebank, than any solid wisdom; and so in their railings at *Christ*, few invade him by any staid politick way of *Atheism*; most of them prophane him with beastly tales or superstitious accounts. Divers of them read
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the *New Testament* maliciously, to cavil, and elude the Miracles of *Christ*, wickedly imputing them to conspiracy among the Actors, and partiality in the Writers, as of a Legend: above all places in *Scripture*, they abuse that, where it is said, That *when he was to go up to the Pasche* but few dyes before his Death, his Kindred and those about him did not yet believe: whereby they (not knowing Faith to be the gift of grace, rather than of reason) slander his Miracles for not so manifest as we conceive. Once at their Celebration of a Sabbath at *Nisib* in *Serviah*, I was walking with divers of their *Rabbines*, especially one, much revered by the rest, who was principal of the Synagogue at *Sophia*; he would needs urge a discourse of *Christianity*, where, after his malice had wearied it self, I asked him, Whether it were not an undeniable sign of Divine Aid to our Cause, that with such a meek humility, as that of *Christ*, had raised it self over all the proudest Oppressors? He (as the nature of Poyson is to infect things of most contrary condition) perverting this reason, replied, That *Christ* came when the World had been tamed by the *Romans*, whose cruel Victories and heavy Yoak had broken the spirits of most Nations; whereupon he would not build his Religion

as the old *Heathen* had ever done, upon *Heroick* brave acts; but on the contrary, meek humility of contrite hearts; which being the greatest number, (especially by that time they come to govern) causes it to prevail so well. This seeming a cold *Atheism*, he further made vain, with an addition concerning the several Ages of the World; comparing the case with this *Microcosm* of Man; whose Infancy is simple; Youth brave; Manhood firm; but his decaying Age faints till the end shuts all up: Each of these periods did he pretend guided by Doctrines sutable; and to the latter, rejected *Christianity*, whose humble contempt of the World, he ascribes to the Worlds old Age, (as in Man) grown weary of it self. After answer hereto, I desired to understand somewhat of their *Cabal*, which I had always held the greater secret of the *Jews*; I demanded whether it consisted in that *Arithmetical* signification of *letters* as we suppose; telling him withal, that seemed strange, how *letters* and *words*, which were imposed differently by the humour of man, could touch upon the reality of things in themselves, which did not acknowledge our devices. He answered, that in part the *Cabal* did depend upon *letters* and *words*, but only *Hebrew*, wherein *Adam* named things when he was

in state of *Innocency*, and understood their Natures; but in *languages* made since the fall, the foundation wanted; they, as the issue of confusion, assure nothing therein: then he added the story of it, telling me that *Cabal* signifies *Tradition*, which was the way whereby it was transferred from one age to another, and that it was in some measure a reparation of our knowledge lost in the fall of *Adam*, and again revealed from God four times: first to *Adam*, who upon his ejection out of Paradise, sitting very disconsolate, God (quoth he) sent the Angel *Raguel* to comfort him; and finding his chief sorrow to be in losing the knowledge of that dependency and punctual commerce which the creatures have with their Creator, and amongst one another; the Angel for his illumination therein, instructed him of the peculiar moments of time, natural, and proper to each passage, wherein things else impossible, might be brought to pass with felicity: Hereat I told him, That there was not in our *Bible* any mention of the Angel *Raguel's* comforting or instructing of *Adam*: Whereunto he replied, like a curst Jew, That the *Popes* had (not only in that place, but in many others) clipped, amplified, and misrepresented the *Old Testament*, th: better to conform it with their *New*, for their Institution.

tions Civil and Ecclesiastical which depend thereon: The *Cabal* (said he) held in tradition many ages, till time, with the accidents of the Flood and *Babel*, lost it: Then once more God discovered it to *Moses* in the Bush; this he proved out of *Esdra's*, a Book high in esteem with them; where in the second Book God is brought in, saying, — *Enarravi ei multa mirabilia, & ostendi ei temporum secreta, ac finem, & præcepi ei dicens, Hac palam facies verba, hæc abscondes:* therefore *Moses* published those — *Mirabilia*; the Creation, the Law, and the *Israelites* bringing forth of *Egypt*; but those *secreta, ac fines temporum*, he disclosed to none beside his seventy Rulers over *Israel*: These traditions soon failed, in the oppressions under the *Philistines*. But the third time God revealed it again, that was to *Solomon* in a dream; for it is said of *Solomon*, that he knew — *initium, & consummationem, & mediocritatem temporum*; by this Art, he wrote many Books of all things, from the *Cedar* to the *Hysop*, with divers others; all which were lost in the *Captivity* ensuing. Therefore the last time, he pretended it restored to *Esdra's*, whom, as himself writes, God made to retire forty dayes, with five Scribes, who in that space wrote 204 Books: the first 134 God commanded to publish for the reading

of all, both worthy and unworthy. The latter seventy were to pass private, only among the wise of the people. These latter seventy they pretend *Cabala* stick, and not yet all lost. When I considered this Art, it put me in mind of what the Prophet sayes to the Church of *Israel*, — *Thy habitation is in the midst of deceivers* : for although in things of inferiour natures, as well as in the passions of man, there are — *moles aditus, & apta tempora* ; wherein they are better disposed for this or that impression, than at other times ; yet do not these open them further than to an Agent that comes opportune, and in a way naturally proper to the pre-disposition of the subject : thus a Feaver is easier cured at one time, than another ; one Medicine hits one access, another the next ; the like may be observed in all things : but to extend it beyond its due limits, and to wayes improper, as to wishing, writing, speaking, and other charms, which cannot reach the reality of things, comes to as profound a nothing, as *Hermes* his *Sigil*, or *Paracelsus* his *Spell* against *Flyes*. Their great counsel of *Sanhedrin* consisting of 71 in imitation of *Moses* and his seventy Elders, not being able to work such wonders, did nevertheless strive to continue the reputation of the old *Ibearchy* ; to that purpose they glo-

vised this device of *Cabal*, whose pretence of secret information from God, even in their forsaken times, served them as *Numa* his pretended meetings with the Nymph *Egeria*, *Mahomets* raptures with the Angel *Gabriel*, and the like, to countenance their Ordinances with Divine repute among the people: This device was well framed to take with the *Jews*, who generally are light, aërial, and *Fanatical* brains, spirited much like our hot *Apocalyps*-men, or fierce expounders of *Daniel*; apt to work themselves into the fools paradise of a sublime dotage: they expect their *Messias* with an unwearied assurance; and as all Prophetical delays do easily find excuse, so have they; restoring their hope with augmentation of glory in the more perfect tryal. At his coming they expect a temporal Kingdom; whereof I heard them discourse with so much gust, as seemed to have a touch of the *Sadducy*, whose appetite relishes a present fruition, better then the state of Resurrection. To discover this fully, I told them that methought it might seem to them but just, that all those who had lived and died constant, expecting the *Messias*, should not by untimely Death lose the fruits of their constancy, but be restored to life at his coming, to enjoy and make up his Kingdom. This they received

ceived with much applause, and (as flattery uses to be) it was by them held an illumination, which they embracing oim:, seconded with such a *Romanzo* of their future Kingdom, as shewed a thirst of revenging their Captivities, and therewith to enjoy the world in that timely Resurrection.

Above all blessings given of God, they prefer that of — *Increase and Multiply*. To hold it a blessing they have reason; but why that should be thought the greatest, I know not; unless because of their *Salacity*, ever noted for — *projectissima in libidinem Gens*; and so apt to grow like the sands of the Sea in number: or else for propagation of the kind, which is the chief act of those who consider themselves no higher, than as parts of the World, and of that taken in the bare continuance, without any of its further operations. They may drink Water alone, but not Wine mingled therewith, unless they have a dispensation: that which is pure Wine, they call *Wine of the Law*: this perhaps was one among other reasons, why they were of old mistaken to have Worshipped *Bacchus*. When they kill any living creature, they first turn the face of it *Eastward*, then saying, *Be it sanctified in the Name of the Great God, King of Heaven and Earth*: they cut the throat with a knife, without any gap in the

edge.

edge ; if that be not observed, they will not eat of the meat, but hold it utterly prophane : most of the fat they cast away, especially about the Loyn and Kidneys ; that of each, *Mutton* or *Beef*, they scarce eat half. These, with many other restrictions of *Dyet*, I urged as difficulties of victualling their *Armies* when the *Messias* should come ; but they readily salved it with power of Miracles, which shall save him all labour and care : he is expected of the Tribe of *Judah*, which was settled in *Portugal*, where they boast, and in *Spain*, to have millions of their race, to whom they gave comp^eat dispensation to counterfeit *Christianity*, even to the degree of *Priesthood*, and that none are discover'd but some hot spirits, whose zeal cannot temporize. This reverence to the *Messias* makes them throughout the whole World, breed their children up in *Portugal* speech, and make it their domestick tongue. The *Jews* of *Italy*, *Germany*, and the *Levant*, excepting the *Banditoes* of *Spain*, are of *Benjamin* : the other ten Tribes, in the destruction of *Jeroboams* kingdom by *Salmanasser*, were led captives beyond *Euphrates*, whence they never returned : In which destruction, perhaps worse than this of their brethren, they had the happiness never to persecute *Christ*. Then I asked if they had there de-

generate into the race and *Gentilism* of the *Heathen*, as our *Christians* have done in the *Holy Land*, whom now we know not from other *Turks*, but by some touch of language. They ashamed of such *Apostasie*, told me, That those ten Tribes are not found any where, but either swallowed like *Corabs* company; or, as other *Rabbins* write, blown away with a whirl-wind: so apt are vain light wits to imagine God less glorified in his glorious wayes of Nature, because ordinary, then in the puffs of their own devised miracles; wherein while they affect to seem grave and profound, they become fond and shallow, not knowing the wayes of that virtue which moveth all things.

In their *Divine-Service*, they make one of the best sort to read a Chapter of *Moses*, then some Boy or Raskal reads a piece of the *Prophets*: in the middle of the *Synagogue* is a round place vaulted over, supported by pillars: therein sometimes one of their *Doctors* walks up and down, and in *Portuguese*, exalts the *Messias*, comforts their captivity, and rails at *Christ*.

They have a *Cupboord* made to represent the *Tabernacle*, wherein they lay up the *Tables of the Law*, which now and then they take forth and kiss: they sing many tunes, but frequently that of *Adonai*, which

is the ordinary Name of *God*; for *Jehovah* they mention not but upon high occasions. At Circumcision, Boyes are set to yall out *Dauids* Psalms so loud, as dins the Infants cry: the *Synagogue* is hung round with glass-lamps burning: every man at his entrance puts on a linnen Cope, first kissing it; but else they use no manner of reverence, or sign of devotion. I knowing discontent apt to disclose secrets, got straight acquaintance with one of them, who had a great mind to turn *Turk*; his chief scandal was, That he had often seen their Elders in the midst of Service fall together by the ears, and with holy Candlesticks, Incense-pans, and other consecrated Instruments, break one anothers pates. They suffer no women to enter the *Synagogue*, but appoint them a Gallery without: I did impute it to jealousy, but they told me it was because Women have not to divine a soul as men, and are of a lower creation, made only for the propagation and pleasure of man: This Doctrine humbles their Wives below that fierce behaviour, whereto competition and opinion of equality might embolden them. When they turn *Turk*, which is often, they must first acknowledge Christ, so far as the *Turk* does; that is, for a great Prophet, and no more. They seldom turn *Christians*,

because of *Images* and *Swines-flesh*, which they hate worse than the Name of Christ: they pretend (but maliciously) that those few, who we see turn in *Italy*, are not of them, but poor *Christians* hired from other Cities; to personate that part. There is scarce any *Señ* so poor spirited, but will sometimes pretend to a Miracle, so did they; for all the *Voyage* they boasted of an Apparition in form of an Old man to this *Gran Signior*, whom he admonished in favour of the *Jews*, and then vanished: but at *Constantinople*, where the Scene of the Fable lay, I could hear no such thing. If they were all united, I believe there would scarce be found any one race of men more numerous; yet that they can never cement into a temporal Government of their own, I reckon two causes, beside the many disadvantages in their *Religion*: First, the *Jewish* complexion is so prodigiously tumid, as cannot be capable of Arms: for this reason they are no where made Souldiers, nor Slaves; and in acknowledging the Valour of *Dauids* Worthies, so different from the Modern *Hebrews*, appears how much a long thraldome may cow Posterity beneath the spirits of their Ancestors. The other impediment is their extreme corrupt love to private interests, which is notorious in the continual cheating and malice

malice among themselves; - so as there would want that justice and respect to common benefit, without which no civil society can stand. These are the chief notes which I gathered in conversing with the *Jews*. Now there remains a word or two of the *Zinganaes*: they are right such as our *Gypsies*: I yield not to those who hold them a peculiar cursed stock: sloth and nastiness single them out from other men; so as they are the dregs of the people, rather than of several descent: wallowing in the dirt and Sun, makes them more swarthy than others: they abound in all Cities of *Turkey*, but steal not like ours, for fear of the cruel severity; they tell Fortunes as cheatingly as ours, and enjoy as little: Their true use is for sordid offices, as Broom-men, Smiths, Coblers, Tinkers, and the like; whereby the natural *Turk* is reserved for more noble employments: few of them are circumcised, none christened: they wear their rags affectedly, but wander not: their habitation is Hovels and poor Houses in the Suburbs: contempt secures them, and with that I leave them. By this discourse it appears, that the *Turkish* Empire is in effect divided into two parts, the *Turks*, and other *Señs*: unto these are applyed the two passions of man, *love* and *fear*: so as the Government is

to keep the one sort so as they shall not desire mischief, and the other not able to effect it: to the *Turks* it is a sweet Monarchy, maintaining them to command the rest; to the other *Sects* it is heavy, holding them distracted with Faction between themselves; disarming, rifling, taking their goods and Children from them, and awing them with as much insolency, as may not quite make them run away. Nevertheless the *Grand Signior* hath not the inconvenience of *Tyrants*, which is to secure themselves against their people by strangers, who are chargeable and perfidious; for he, without charge, is held up by *Plantations* of his own people, who in descent and interests, are linkt with him: neither hath he the uncertainty of a Civil Prince, who much subsists on fickle popular love; for he reigns by force; and his *Turks* are a number able to make it good: wherefore he seems as absolute as a Tyrant, as happy as a King, and more establish'd than either; yet hath he danger from both parts: love makes apt to grow insolent, therefore his governing multitudes are that way dangerous.

This hath shewed it self in the tumults of the *Janizaries*, even as deep as the *Blood Royal*. His danger from the embroiled *Sects* is not so great; they are too stupi-

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fied, and disunited for Rebellion; there is more doubt of depopulation; yet to prevent that, when any Province hath been overlaid, he restores it with a gentle *Governour*, and slack Exactions; and the *Timariots* themselves, that their Farms may be well managed, hold up the Farmers with much care. There are two notable signs of this *Empire* strength; One is, that most neighbouring *States* pay *Tribute* or frequent *Presents*, which is but another name of *Tribute*. The other is, that although it be generally observed, that two or three Successions of weak Princes are enough to ruine any *Monarchy*; this *Crown* hath now had five weak *Princes*, without intervenue of any one active, yet is it in no part demolished. This present *Emperour*, though by reason of his age, and some other disadvantages, hath not yet put into action, is of spirit like to equal the bravest of his Predecessors. Now as all bodies, though never so strong, are subject to blows from without, and diseases within; so is this *Empire* obnoxious to the *Persian* abroad, and errors of *Government* at home: One hath hapned of late years, which hath bred pernicious disorder; that was the mercy of *Achmat* to his brother *Mustapha*, whom he seeing a *Bookman*, and weak, did not destroy: this was contrary to the *Othoman*

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custom, and left a subject for ambition and disgust, which rather than be without, would make one of Wax if it were possible: much more dangerous was it to leave one of colourable pretext where there was so insolent a faction as the *Janizaries*: they forthwith served their turn hereof, who else had not been provided of a King, and so forced to endure *Osman* for fear of destroying that Line, in whose defect they fall under the petit *Tartars*, which they abhor: This gave them occasion to taste the Blood Royal, whose reverence can never be restored, without abolishing the Order of *Janizaries*, which hath been the Sword-hand of the *Empire*. If this discourse might speak in a Moral way, it would title this act of *Achmat* a virtue, and a high one: But in such a fierce *Government*, many Virtues noble and safe in our States, are against the foundation of theirs.

Thus have I set down what I noted in the *Turkish* Customs; all instruct, either as errors, or by imitation: Nor is the mind of man a perfect Paradise, unless there be planted in it the Tree of *Knowledge* both of *Good* and *Evil*.



F I N I S.



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